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ABSTRACT

The International Reading Association conference papers selected for this publication focus on the problems of teaching reading to the disadvantaged. The learner's background in language and experience, the teacher's goals and measures of potential and achievement, and the school's adjustment of program and instruction are all factors that affect successful learning for disadvantaged students and are represented in the publication. The selected papers are divided into five categories: general considerations, urban classroom applications, some rural applications, problems of bilingual children, and basic adult education. (This document previously announced as ED 043 457.) (Author/NH)

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# READING GOALS FOR THE DISADVANTAGED

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**Newark, Delaware 19711**

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# Foreword

THE ANNUAL CONVENTION of the International Reading Association has grown to the extent that it is no longer economically feasible to publish all the papers presented. Therefore, five volumes on specific topics were planned as an outcome of the Kansas City Convention. Papers not published in these volumes were made available to the editors of the Association's journals for possible publication and to ERIC/CRIER for input into the ERIC system.

The papers selected by J. Allen Figurel to be included in this volume focus upon the problems of teaching reading to the disadvantaged. The scope of these problems is reflected in the volume's very organization. The learner's background in language and experience, the teacher's goals and measures of potential and achievement, the school's adjustment of program and instruction are all factors that effect successful learning for disadvantaged students and are all represented in the selected papers. Furthermore, the selected papers reveal that the disadvantagd are not restricted to urban or rural areas nor are they restricted to any age group. A thoughtful reading of this volume reveals why many observers suggest that the problems dealt with are among the most severe facing America's schools.

A special word of thanks is appropriate to J. Allen Figurel, not only for his service as editor but also for his contributions in helping us to better understand the problems faced by the disadvantaged in learning to read.

LEO FAY, *President*
International Reading Association
1968-1969

The International Reading Association attempts, through its publications, to provide a forum for a wide spectrum of opinion on reading. This policy permits divergent viewpoints without assuming the endorsement of the Association.

# GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS

## Are the Reading Goals for the Disadvantaged Attainable?

J. Allen Figurel
Indiana University Northwest

THE ULTIMATE reading goal for the disadvantaged reader is no different from that of other boys and girls. In his address, entitled "Target for the 70's: The Right to Read," to State Boards of Education, Commissioner Allen of USOE stated it so succinctly: competency in reading for every student. The short-term and day-by-day reading goals for disadvantaged boys and girls will have to be somewhat different if the ultimate goal is to be reached by the time they leave school. The approaches, practices, techniques, and sequential learning tasks have to be adjusted to the particular needs of disadvantaged students. The extent to which these adjustments are made will determine the degree of success that will be achieved in developing competent readers.

With the advent of the Great Cities Projects in the early 1960's and with the enactment of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act in 1965, thousands of programs and projects have been instituted to improve the education of the poor and disadvantaged. These have run the gamut from prekindergarten through high school grades. Billions of dollars have been poured into these programs. Needless to say, many programs have been concerned with the improvement of reading. Yet the results, with a few possible exceptions such as Head Start (funded by OEO), have been definitely disappointing.

### Reading Retardation Is Greater in Large Cities

Large cities, with higher concentrations of disadvantaged boys and girls in ghetto and marginal areas, have a high degree of reading retardation in their schools and consequently receive much criticism about reading test results. To help disadvantaged children do better in reading, Detroit schools developed a series of readers which depict black, oriental, and white children. The new readers were developed for the primary grades. The content style of the readers is very similar to that found in basal readers, although efforts were made to include plot in some of the stories to arouse more interest in reading. Reports of some teachers indicate that Detroit readers are very popular with all children. The influence that they may have on reading achievement in upper grades and high school has yet to be ascertained. One thing is certain, children of Detroit, like those in all large cities, still read quite below their capacity levels. Recently the superintendent of Chicago schools revealed that he was displeased with the reading and IQ scores reported for all Chicago children. He said that whereas beginning children are at national norms, other students lose from 13 to 26 points by the time they are in the twelfth grade. He stated further that the results of the citywide testing are worse today than they were three years ago. Criticisms of reading in New York City and Los Angeles schools have been widely reported in the news media and do not need further explanation here. Test scores for disadvantaged children in all large city schools indicate there is "progressive retardation" taking place. The longer a child remains in school the less progress he makes in relation to his capacity for learning to read. In the first grade, he may be retarded six months. By the time he is in the sixth grade, the retardation may be one, two, or even three years. In high school, the retardation may increase to four or more years. Of course, the degree of retardation varies from student to student and is based on both intrinsic and extrinsic causes. How can this retardation be stopped? Research has been of little help, for most studies have dealt with assaying and listing deficits and limitations of the language of the disadvantaged. Very few studies have dealt with learning methodology. And this is what teachers of the disadvantaged need and want. Answers must be found quickly, for sociologists say that by 1975 two out of three children in schools can be classified as disadvantaged. What a challenge for American schools!

## The Teacher's Role

The teacher is the focal point in any school activity. Her attitude and feelings are reflected in everything she does when children are around. Disadvantaged children sense this very quickly, especially if they think they are being personally rejected. Their efforts at learning tasks are in proportion to their feelings toward the teacher. They like teachers that show an empathetic attitude toward them and they will work very hard in trying to please a teacher that has this attitude. On the other hand, they will do their darndest to upset a teacher who they think rejects them, and in this they can be very rebellious. Effective reading teachers bring out the best in their students and this can only be done if there is positive interaction taking place between her and her students. This helps to set a positive atmosphere for learning in the classroom. The schoolroom climate enables the teacher to plan her work without interruptions. In planning reading lessons for disadvantaged children, teachers should keep in mind the unique needs of each child. Lessons should be organized around these needs. Disadvantaged children like short lessons. Their span of attention may be short. They are immediately interested in seeing how successful they have been. This idea encompasses the closure technique that psychologists talk about in relation to motivation. Disadvantaged children like concrete concepts better than the abstract. Reading material should reflect these concepts. Background information may be lacking in some children. When such information is required before an answer can be given, the teacher should furnish it. If a child asks for some aid, he should not be sent to some reference book to find it, but rather the teacher should give the assistance asked for. Above all, teachers should be approachable at all times.

What possible causes could there be that keep teachers from functioning effectively in inner-city schools? One can only surmise some of the causes since research studies in this area have often shown contradictory or confusing causations. Is it that teachers of ghetto schools are less prepared and have had less experience? There might be some truth to this allegation when one realizes that candidates for positions in many large city schools take examinations for employment eligibility. The ratings on these tests determine their place on eligibility lists. The teachers with the highest rank on placement lists have first choices in selecting schools in which to teach, and to no one's surprise, they select white schools located in what is termed outer city In most cities the demand for teachers is often greater than the supply. Usually, many vacancies still exist after all who passed the test are placed. To fill the leftover vacancies, substitute teachers are placed in regular positions, which for the most part are found in inner-city schools. As the result children who need the best teachers often find themselves with the least prepared and often uncertified teachers. And the heavy turnover in substitute positions seems to cause the situation to deteriorate further. Efforts to overcome such practices are being made in some cities but seniority and other uncontrollable factors have limited the movement of good teachers to disadvantaged schools. The use of paraprofessionals and modern materials has brought some relief to such schools, but these efforts so far have done little to improve the learning climate.

Even the good teachers who are found in disadvantaged schools sometimes seem to get poor results in teaching reading. A large number of middle class teachers who teach in ghetto schools spend too much time in trying to make over disadvantaged children into children with middle class mores. They feel strongly that the poor children have been denied so many middle-class niceties that it is their duty to bring to them the things which, in their opinion, will bring about the change. The time spent on such enrichment could very well be added to reading activities.

## Language Capacity, Language Acquisition, and Reading

The language of disadvantaged children has been evaluated extensively in terms of its cultural and social variations rather than in its native or biological aspects. Statistically significant differences on the language development of disadvantaged, as compared with that of middle-class children, have been reported generally. In these studies language development is taken as a demonstration that it is contingent on specific language training. And this is partly true, but it is equally important, if not more so, to make a distinction between what children do in language acquisition and what they are capable of doing. The capacity for language development is the factor which is usually forgotten or not known by teachers. It is the basic factor that should be considered rather than keeping in mind the deficits which environment has brought about. The biological aspects of language are more basic than the sociological. In a carefully conducted research study on language, Lenneberg,* a neurobiologist, listed some basic concepts about language which should be considered by every reading teacher of the disadvantaged. These concepts may well serve to change the teacher's attitude on language and may serve to give her a beginning positive attitude toward the disadvantaged child's language acquisition, which is a basis for learning to read. According to Lenneberg, language has six characteristics: 1) it is a form of behavior in all cultures of the world, 2) in all cultures its onset is age correlated, 3) there is only one acquisition strategy—it is the same for all babies in the world, 4) it is based intrinsically upon the same formal operating characteristics whatever its outward form, 5) throughout man's recorded history these operating characteristics have been constant, and 6) it is a form of behavior that may be impaired specifically by circumscribed brain lesions which may leave other mental or motor skills relatively unaffected. He further stated that children begin to speak no sooner and no later than when they reach a given stage of physical maturation. Language development correlates more closely with motor coordination than with chronological age. It is interesting to note that on almost all counts language begins when such maturation indices have attained at least 65 percent of their mature values, and inversely language acquisition becomes more difficult when the physical maturation of the brain is complete. These observations will be of positive value especially to kindergarten and primary school teachers who can include in their activities coordination exercises. And in assessing the degree of development of the capacity for language all teachers should use a few broad and developmental stages rather than to make an inventory of vocabulary, syntax, and the like. We learn from Lenneberg's study that disadvantaged children have capacity for language equal to that of children from middle-class homes. Let teachers begin with capacity rather than with acquisition of language analyses.

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* Eric H. Lenneberg. "On Explaining Language," *Science*, 164 (May 1969), 635-644.

There is a difference between language capacity and language acquisition. One acquires the language he hears in relation to his capacity for language learning. Are disadvantaged children able to acquire language with the same rapidity as other children? One needs only to listen to a group of disadvantaged youngsters at play to learn that they are very talkative and learn language from each other very rapidly. In many classrooms, the teacher's greatest difficulty is to keep her pupils quietly at work. Disadvantaged children seem to want to babble all the time and find it harder to keep quiet than children who come from middle-class homes.

The language of disadvantaged children reflects all the deficits and limitations of environment. In most cases language patterns have been imported from the South and the patterns reflect the dialect of the South. It is a dialect of the English language and is not to be termed bad English as some teachers are prone to do. The dialect of the disadvantaged, in addition to differences in tonal effect, consists in the use of short and to the point sentences; verb irregularities; omissions, particularly at the end of sentences; repetitious vocabulary, and certain other irregularities. Nevertheless, it is English and can be understood by people who speak other dialects.

If a disadvantaged child has innate capacity for language and has shown that he can acquire language very rapidly, why is it so difficult for him to learn to read since reading is a facet of language? One would suspect that reading requires the knowledge of standard English patterns, which are not very well known by the disadvantaged. Ways must be found to have the disadvantaged acquire standard English patterns at an optimum time of language development. Two, three, and four year olds are now going to nursery schools for this purpose. But there are thousands of children who are already in school and ways must be found to help them soon for they, too, have a "Right to Read." Everyone is concerned about reading now: teachers, parents, employers, and the general public can't understand why schools turn out such poor readers. We have such beautiful buildings, educated teachers, and a wealth of materials including technological aids and in some instances, paraprofessionals.

When a disadvantaged child enters school he is all excited about the wonders that are contained in those large and beautiful buildings. Even an old building looks wonderful to him when he compares it with his tenement apartment. Upon entering the classroom he finds that he is in a different world. He can't seem to understand the teacher because she talks too fast. The teacher's language sounds alien and the child can't understand her. Incidentally, to most people who do not understand a foreign language, the speaker seems to speak very rapidly when in reality to one who understands the language the speed is very natural. The same impression is made on a disadvantaged child who first hears the standard English of the teacher. He finds it hard to communicate with the teacher. At first he may try to make sense of what the teacher is saying. He soon discovers that his answers are wrong and are not acceptable. He discovers very soon that it is much easier to say nothing and not be bothered by the teacher. A sense of frustration sets in and he soon begins to believe that he is not very bright. Thus begins the long line of failures and destruction of his self-image. When he gets into a reading situation, he finds that it, too, is strange. He tries hard to memorize words or letters, but since they mean very little to him he soon forgets them. The teacher may tell the words or sounds to him over and over again, but he still finds it hard to memorize them. As years roll by, he may learn to read a little, but he fails many times and he is always in the lowest group. Finally he reaches the end of the compulsory school age and quits school to become another dropout and possibly a street bum. How different this boy could have been had teachers understood his needs from the start.

## Some Promising Practices

Some experiments have been conducted in certain schools to try to overcome some of the deficits and limitations that disadvantaged children have in learning to read. Some of these look promising. Consensus, however, has not been reached on ways to teach reading to the disadvantaged effectively. Ingenious teachers will find many ways of making disadvantaged children competent readers.

Linguists have been saying for a number of years that children should begin reading the language patterns they understand and use. The language experience approach lends itself to this recommendation very well. Language experience charts can be prepared by the teacher from children's own experiences or stories and used for reading. With the help of paraprofessionals, individual stories can be dictated by the children, written on personal sheets and then used as reading materials. If the teacher is effective, she soon begins to make slight corrections when she does the manuscript work. Since the concepts will not be new, the children will find the reading material easy to read in spite of the changes. The procedure has endless possibilities. It permits the teacher to change the language patterns gradually until the child finds himself reading standard English without realizing the transition which has taken place. The difficult part of the procedure is to get the teacher to accept a pattern which in her own estimation is not good English. By making the first reading easy the teacher is building the child's self-image and giving him a feeling of being a successful reader. In fact, a child can even feel that he is an author by compiling all of his experience stories into a booklet with an appropriate cover and cover design.

Another practice which seems to have some promise is to delay formal reading until the child develops language sophistication in standard English. In this procedure the child spends most of his time in the early primary grades in oral English. Repeated practice sessions are held throughout the day. Objects are introduced. Children, for example, may pass a cup to each other saying, "This is a cup." The constant repetition eventually catches on and when it does a new object is introduced. More difficult language patterns are introduced as progress is made. Attention to informal speaking habits are noted and corrected later on. Language labs, tape recorders, record players, the Language Master, and others can contribute much to this procedure. Where this practice has been tried, it has been criticized by the parents who want their children to read when they enter school. Teachers are reminded that they are not trying to change a child's permanent dialect but rather that they are teaching a language pattern needed in school now and in his place of employment later on.

Some teachers still believe strongly that all children, the advantaged and the disadvantaged, should start with the basal reading program and continue with it from year to year so that the sequential reading skills may be learned in an orderly manner. Laboriously they work with the children from the reading readiness books, through the preprimers, the primers, first readers, and on through the sixth readers. Since the three-group plan of organization is standard in such practice, disadvantaged children invariably find themselves in the lowest reading groups. In first grade they are almost always found in the reading readiness group. Since progress in reading under this plan is slow for the disadvantaged all through the primary grades they always find themselves in the lowest reading groups. The slow groups may take one or two years longer to complete the designated readers. As children in these groups grow older they find themselves forced to read stories intended for younger children and thus become less and less interested in reading. If grouping is continued into the upper grades the problem becomes even more acute. Imagine a fifth grader becoming interested in material found in a second reader. The three-group plan in integrated schools causes another severe problem for disadvantaged children. Many of the retarded children in reading are black. Very often the slowest group is made up of all black children since they are the ones that have made the least progress in reading. This situation creates segregation. The resulting groups of children learn little from one another since they all have language deficits and limitations. Imagine the frustration of black children who find themselves in groupings which are segregated. Schools should guard against creating segregation through ability grouping which casts black children into slow groups.

If the teacher must use the grouping plan, she should organize her work so that the slow groups get more reading periods, perhaps two or even three times a day. The purpose of the added periods is to help the slow readers catch up with others who need less time for reading. Some teachers will respond by asking how they can teach the science and the social studies if they spend so much time on reading. To such teachers one can say that the function of the elementary school is to teach the learning skills and of all the skills, reading is the most important. If a child has been taught to read effectively he will have plenty of time to catch up on the facts in junior and senior high school. But pity the boy or girl who goes to high school with deficient reading skills.

Space does not permit a discussion of how to adjust the intermediate reading goals with practices in teaching through the use of contemporary mediums and methods such as i.t.a., Unifon, Open Court, Phonetic Keys to Reading, the Phonovisual, Words in Color, the DMS, and the Rebus. If a teacher is thoroughly sold on a method, she should study its basic principles to see if they can meet the specific learning needs of disadvantaged children. If a teacher finds that something in the method does not work well with these children she should discard it or find ways of adjusting it so that it will. At times a combination of the best of two methods may be the answer.

## Summary

It can be said that although the ultimate reading goal for the disadvantaged is no different from that of other children, the short-term goal needed to achieve the ultimate goal may be quite different, particularly in terms of approaches and methodology. The disadvantaged have equal capacity for language development. They also have equal ability in the acquisition of language. What language patterns they have acquired have certain deficits and limitations in relation to standard English. They have shown that they can overcome these deficits in doing their school work. They need enlightened and empathetic teachers to aid them to acquire new language patterns needed for success and competency in reading. Can we do this for all children in the 1970's? The challenge has been given to us.

# Language Variation and Literacy

ROGER W. SHUY
Center for Applied Linguistics

ALTHOUGH variety in language has long been valued in the area of written composition, among teachers there has been considerable reluctance to accept variation in the oral production of English. It is paradoxical that students are urged to vary the vocabulary and grammatical patterns of their essays while, at the same time, they are downgraded when their pronunciation and grammar vary from the accepted norm of the classroom or of the individual teacher. To be sure, this is an oversimplification of the contrast, for it is not that teachers dislike oral language variety as much as it is that they seem to dislike the particular variety being used. Oral language has tremendously wider use than written language and is subject to many more small group norms. The relatively permanent nature of written language can be more easily scrutinized and subjected to standardization on a national basis. As a consequence, the accepted codes of grammar have been well established in written composition, and attempts at improving writing skills assume this code and focus on the principle of variety in lexicon and syntax. That is, it is considered bad to use the same sentence patterns over and over again, and it is bad to reuse the same noun or verb within a specified number of words or phrases. The principle of language variety, then, is highly valued within the confines of these specifications. And this situation would seem to end the matter.

But just how different are these specifications for the value of variety in written language from the value of variety in oral language? Written language values stem from the derived norms of a well-defined and highly visible society—the writing public. The oral language values stem from the derived norms of an as yet rather ill-defined society which is highly visible and very important to the speaker, but not so highly visible or important to a person who is not a member of that subgroup. Both writing and oral language norms, as well as concepts of variation, grow out of the values of a social group and are modified by the nature of the medium. In principle the norms are quite similar although in fact they contrast considerably because of differences in group makeup and the medium of reception.

The first need in any formal attempt to place values on language variation is to identify the group which is being evaluated precisely enough so as to compare it to a presumably contrasting group. Such groups may be based on memberships as large as male-female differences or as small as friendship circles; groups may be difficult to define, as are social status groups, or easy to define, as is age. They may also show contrast based on geography, race, or contextual style. All of these subgroups of society pose problems of identification and interrelationship. But such is the task of the field of sociolinguistics when it attempts to analyze language in relationship to society. Whereas many linguists focus on the generally accepted language norms of a whole society, sociolinguists are concerned with the language variation which sets off the small groups of a whole society.

Just as linguists assume that the language used by a group of people is adequate for meeting the needs of its users, so sociolinguists assume that the variety of language used by a given community is equally adequate for its users. The social acceptability of a language or a variety of that language is not relevant to its adequacy for communication. Thus the social values of written language are defined in one way while the social values of oral language may be defined quite differently. Likewise, the social values of the language of people from different age, sex, social, geographical, and racial groups may be quite different. If each subgroup heard only the speech of its own group, there would be no such thing as language variety. (For our purpose here, this generalization overlooks variation at the individual level.) Language variety exists when a member of one group uses a linguistic feature which is not shared by another group or which is not shared with the same general frequency.

The systematic study of language variety of American English has been carried on for several decades now. We currently know quite a bit about geographical variation and historical change in our language, thanks to the efforts of linguistic geographers. In the past few years we have also begun to learn something about social differences in language. Sociolinguists have faced considerable pressures from many sources and have studied language variety based on race —at a time when it is never clear what the establishment position may be or even who constitutes the establishment. We now talk about black English as one of the legitimate varieties of English, and we are concerned with the speakers of this variety as they come into contact with other varieties of oral language, as well as with written language.

To this point, a somewhat laborious case for the legitimacy of variation in language has been made. I have stated that variety can be a desired commodity in composition, and I have implied that variety in oral language has not been viewed with favor, among educators at least. I have observed, furthermore, that varieties of language may be viewed in relation to the subgroups of our society. Whether variety stems from the functions of language (as in the case of varied sentence patterns) or from the forms of language (the usual identifiers of social dialects), distinguishing features can be seen as systematic, adequate for the communication needs of its users, and appropriate in its own setting. Language variation poses no problems until it comes in contact with listeners, writers, and speakers who use a different variety or who react negatively toward it.

This question of the adequacy and appropriateness of a given variety of language can be viewed in terms of *deficit* versus *difference*. Many educators have viewed language variation in terms of deviation from middle class language norms. Linguists view language variation as an adequate system in itself, not deviant from anything else and not necessarily superior.

It is difficult to see how a teacher who views a pupil's speech as deficient can appreciate or respect the child who uses a nonstandard system or how such a child can have a positive self-concept after being told that his speech is deficient. Recent research by sociolinguists clearly indicates that the *be* in the Black English sentence, *The boy be happy*, is not a deviation from the standard English *The boy is happy* but, instead, it shows some sort of intermittent action (*4, 11*). Thus, this and other aspects of the Black English system can be said to be *different* from the standard English system. It is difficult to see how the differences can be considered *deficient*

Perhaps of more importance, however, is the reaction of a child when he is told that the language he speaks, the language of his parents and friends, is deficient. His response cannot be much different from his reaction to being called *disadvantaged*. There are already enough ways for students to be alienated and intimidated by the school system without our needing to insult his language.

Having identified some of the characteristics of language variety, having shown that certain kinds of language variation are considered artistic, and having declared that language systems have their own systematic patterns which are not deviant from one another but which are different, let us focus on the relationship of language variation to literacy from the viewpoint of the child, the teacher, and the teacher trainer.

How does a child's language variation affect him as he approaches literacy? For several years now, educators have been asking the following questions. Are children whose oral language does not match the written language of the early reading texts more handicapped in their learning to read than children whose oral language more nearly matches this written material? If so, what strategy should be followed? Should we try to make the child's oral language more nearly match the written materials before we introduce him to reading? If so, how long will this task take and will this time justify delaying his learning the most crucial skill he will ever learn in his academic life? If we take the other alternative and teach him to read without altering his oral language patterns, what will the written texts be like? And what effect might this approach (*2*) have on his oral language?

It is logical to assume that learning to read, like learning anything else, proceeds along regular lines of some sort and that learners move gradually from what they do not know and what they cannot predict to what we want them to know and what we want them to predict. Knowing something implies that one can make predictions of what is coming next. Knowing how to read implies that the reader can predict some kind of meaning on the basis of the printed matter before him. Predictability, then, is crucial in learning and is especially to be desired in beginning reading. If predictability is so desired, it is logical to suggest that a child who has an oral language of considerable extent, but who has no reading ability, can be best guided in his early reading by predictable written language—that is, by written language which at least comes close to matching his oral language patterns.

There is nothing essentially new about this principle and, to a certain extent, beginning reading texts have made some strides toward divesting themselves of "See Spot run" syntax. Unfortunately, however, they have all too often replaced it with syntax which is little better. We can find sentences like the following in current reading texts:

1. A pin is in the thin tan mat and the cat is thin and the pig is fat.
2. Over the fence went the ball.
3. I had a hat, I did.
4. Round is a kitten.

The predictability which the child needs to help him read these sentences is strained, to say the least. For various reasons, the textbook writers have missed the child's oral language almost as much as they did with the Dick and Jane prose of the past. One characteristic of the effect which the child's oral language has on his future literacy, then, is to serve as a guide on what to expect the printed page to say. If the printed page does not reasonably match this expectation, he may be deterred or at least slowed down in this quest for literacy. This mismatch of the written page with the child's oral language may stem from any number of sources, including:

1. The writer's misconception of the child's oral language.
2. The writer's attempt to include a maximum amount of linguistic patterns in a given sentence.
3. The intrusion of metaphorical (by definition, unpredictable) language.

Thus a child's oral language variation can affect his potential literacy by not matching (or coming close to) the language of the printed page at a time when such proximity is most conducive to his acquiring literacy, a time when he most needs predictability to help in his acquisition. The beginning reading materials can affect a child's potential literacy by not matching (or coming close to) the oral language of the child at a time when such proximity is most conducive to his acquiring literacy.

In addition to the mismatch of oral language and beginning reading materials, we can observe the effect of a child's language variation on the attitudes of both the child and the teacher.

Historically, educators have conceived of the variations in English along a single value scale. The concept of relative appropriateness is new, generally thought of as a product of the advent of linguists and generally misunderstood to mean that all the standards are gone. The recent development of notions of a pluralistic society have rekindled the idea that there is no need to feel guilty about one's own particular kind of language variation. Undoubtedly, acceptance of this idea will be a long time in coming to the classroom, but some very useful attitudinal benefits for the language arts and reading occur. If students can feel free to use the language that they have for education, they can be relieved of some of the problems of the current situation. The supposed nonverbal child may be silent primarily as a defense mechanism. To use the only language he knows is to risk criticism or, at least, correction. School is a game in which one is supposed to be right as often as possible and wrong as seldom as possible. If opening one's mouth leads to being wrong, then there are two solutions: either one learns to do what is right or one keeps one's mouth shut. If children could acquire knowledge without risking their stakes in the game, we would accomplish what we are supposed to be accomplishing in every aspect but one—that of teaching standard oral English. However important it may be for our students to learn standard English, it is not so important that it be learned all at one time or that the learning of it endanger the entire educational process by causing children to retreat into silence in order to keep from being wrong.

The bilingual education act came into being to alleviate a similar situation among speakers of Spanish and French in the United States. Many educators felt that the beginning stages of the education process were too important to be lost or slowed down by the obstacle of the language of the classroom. To be sure, nonstandard variations from the middle-class norms are not exactly the same thing as foreign variations from English, but the effects are quite similar. If we can put aside our well-meaning efforts to teach everything at once; accept the child's entry language as a system in which beginning education can take place; and plot out a deliberate strategy for teaching him standard English over a period of time—a strategy which will not interfere with his acquisition of reading, science, mathematics, and other subjects—we will be doing a great service to the child and we will be fulfilling our deeper obligation as teachers.

For the child this goal means that we should not derogate the language tool that he has to start with. Rather than destroy his confidence in communicating with us, we must build it up. Whatever our finely tuned language sensitivities may be, without this communication we have no way of teaching him. In terms of practical instruction, teachers must learn to defer their desire to correct every nonstandard form in the speech of their students. They will learn not to wince. They will learn to evaluate the various nonstandard forms in terms of their social diagnosticity. [Some features of nonstandard English are more crucial than others (*13*).]

Perhaps a more practical suggestion would be to consider problems of teacher training. We have suggested that materials be developed to better account for the child's language upon entry to the school, and we have urged teachers to reexamine their innate desire to correct everything at once and to react negatively to nonstandard language. But these are just tag-ons to an existing situation; educational change has been characterized by such tag-ons for the past century. The advents of vocational education, special education, and, more recently, compensatory education, have been characterized as mere tag-ons to a nineteenth century educational model (*3*). What is needed in the field of elementary language arts and reading is not just another tag-on but a rather extensive overhaul. Such an overhaul will probably not be accomplished merely by urging teachers to adjust their attitudes toward the oral language of black children, however desirable this approach may be. Attitude change seldom comes about by mere wishing it or even by mouthing it, nor is it usually accomplished in a short period of time.

Any serious attempt to prepare teachers to deal with language variation in relationship to literacy will also have to deal with some rather extensive consequences. The following suggestions are based on the belief that the more traditional programs in teacher training have spent far too much time on administrative matters, teaching technique, and evaluation, at the expense of subject matter content. This is not a new criticism, but I have seen no recent evidence that the field of education has made any significant strides toward doing anything about it. In fact, at a recent conference on educating the disadvantaged, fully 95 percent of the time was spent on matters of funding such programs, administering them, and evaluating them. One might ask, Funding what? Administering what? Evaluating what? This is not to say that we must abandon our concern for funding, administration, teaching techniques, or evaluation. But, we must begin to focus on *what* we teach, as well.

By far the most important focus in the child's early education is on language. Language is his only tool for communicating with us, thereby enabling us to evaluate and teach him. The most logical subject matter for teachers to study, therefore, is the language of children; and, as a helpful measure, it is important for teachers to study language in a broad sense, especially as linguists see it. The following areas of preparation must form the core of a teacher's preparation. Other areas involving teaching technique, administration, and evaluation should be determined only after the following content areas have been thoroughly covered:

1. *The nature of language in general.* Teachers need to know about the systematic nature of language, how languages differ from one another, how they change, the difference between oral and written symbolization, and the structure of communication. Teachers should be made at least minimally acquainted with current theoretical views of linguistics. No extant college linguistics courses suit this need exactly. Courses called "Introduction to Linguistics," as they are

now conceived by linguistics departments, are probably not what future teachers need. Nor are the college courses in the structure of history of the English language immediately applicable. If linguists *along with knowledgeable specialists in education* have not developed a course which suits the need of future elementary teachers, it is time to develop such a course. Students with special abilities in this area should be encouraged to take further work in general linguistics courses.

2. *The nature of nonstandard English.* This course may go by several names, such as black English, language of the ghetto, or language of the disadvantaged. It should include a contrastive grammar and phonology and reflect the recent research of Labov, Wolfram, Shuy, Fasold, Stewart, and Baratz. It should contain a unit on the historical origins of current nonstandards and a unit on grammatical features, including the correlations with social stratification, frequency of occurrence, and social diagnosticity of the feature. The concepts of the linguistic variable, the linguistic continuum, and the linguistic situation (Shuy 1969) must be seen in relation to language data.
3. *Field work in child language.* After studying current approaches to the study of oral language (*11, 12*), teachers should be guided in gathering language data within a disadvantaged group. They should get at least an hour of tape recorded speech of one nonstandard English speaking child. They should then typescript (in regular orthography) the tape recorded data. This process will seem time consuming and laborious but it serves three good purposes:
    a. to give focus and purpose to the teacher as he listens to the tape recording;
    b. to provide a keying device for further study of specific pronunciations or grammatical forms; and
    c. to provide data on syntactic patterns.

Then the teachers should be asked to focus on at least one phonological feature which seems nonstandard, describe it thoroughly using the criteria in Section 2, and search the literature for its use elsewhere. They should do the same for at least one grammatical feature.

4. *Teaching oral language to the disadvantaged child.* Focus should begin on the question of the relevance of foreign language teaching techniques to second dialect learning (*13*), review foreign language techniques (Lado 1967, Finacchiaro 1964), and discuss problems of defining standard English and social dialect. Teachers should then be guided in an examination of extant oral language materials for nonstandard speakers (Golden 1965, Lin 1964, Hurst 1965, Feigenbaum 1969). Teachers should be helped in setting up criteria for evaluating such materials.
5. *Oral Language and Reading.* As they examine the relationship of a child's oral language to his acquisition of reading skills, teachers should examine problems of dialect interference through phonology, grammar, and orthography (*2*). They should examine current reading materials to determine the degree of adjustment to the linguistic features observed in Sections 2 and 3.

Exactly how these five areas should be presented to teachers is by no means clear at this point Material may be given in the form of five college courses or combinations. Whether in areas, fields, courses, or workshops, teachers of the disadvantaged should have primary training in the nature of language, in the characteristics of nonstandard English, in foreign language teaching techniques, and in the potential interference of one dialect on another in the reading process. In addition teachers should have a significant exposure to child language, brought about by actual contact with such children. Then, and only then, should we think about what kinds of courses we should offer in administration, classroom techniques and evaluation procedures. The core of the program is language; the core should be seen first, with all other things revolving around it. If we have not been successful in the past, our problem may be our failure to see the child's language as the single most important aspect of the curriculum, especially at the beginning level.

In this paper I have tried to present the relevance of language variation to literacy. I have urged a closer relationship of written materials to the various kinds of oral language used by children, on the assumption that a mismatch will prolong or perhaps even prevent the acquisition of reading. I have urged teachers to consider the potential long range effect on children by being critical of their only method of communicating with us. Finally, I have urged a reassessment of the training program for teachers of reading and language arts—a program which has language at the center and which views methodology as the service for that core.

It is high time that we stopped fearing language variation and started putting it to work for us. At least part of our fears have been unfounded. Variety, per se, is neither bad nor illogical. In fact, it is often highly valued. It is also high time that we put our priorities in order and decided that learning to read and write is more important than the immediate acquisition of standard oral English. Just as our teaching frequently puts techniques ahead of content, so we have tended to put the social aspects of English usage ahead of learning the important step in the curriculum—writing and reading. We have learned that being a bad speller does not mean the writer is stupid, however desirable it may be to learn to spell correctly. We expect children to gradually acquire standard spelling over several years. Is it not reasonable to expect standard oral English to be acquired in like manner? Let's give children time to acquire standard English gradually. Meanwhile, we must considerably revamp our attitude and materials with respect to nonstandard varieties of English, particularly in the area of literacy.

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# Changing the Learning Patterns of the Culturally Different

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THIS PAPER is concerned with three areas of approach related to changing the learning patterns of the culturally different: 1) four imperatives which should form a part of today's educator's repertoire for action, 2) three suggestions for implementing relevant and appropriate educational strategies and activities, and 3) a brief description of an action program for change—The Education Improvement Project of the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools.

## Four Imperatives Which Should Form a Part of Today's Educator's Repertoire for Action

A first imperative facing today's educators, particularly those committed to the education of the disadvantaged, is the necessity to realize that this is a significantly different world from the one in which they lived as children. Emerging developments in such areas as mass education, space age science, human life science, transplantation, automation and technology, and educational invention and innovation provide evidence of ways in which this world differs from the one some of us lived in as children. Add to this America's new direction in addressing herself to the necessity of providing an appropriate education for the culturally different segment within America, and there results an even more glaring contrast between this world and the one in which we lived. What is so important for us to accept about this new kind of world is that many traditional concepts and practices in early childhood education, elementary school education, and secondary school education (both for the advantaged and the disadvantaged, but particularly for the latter) are irrelevant and inappropriate.

A second imperative facing today's educators is the need to realize that a different kind of pupil is operating in this different world culture. Whereas children of the yesteryears spent much time with their parents and other grownups, present day children spend most of their time with other children and watching television. Less and less of their time is spent with parents and other adults. There are fewer persons in today's family unit, and often both mother and father work.

What has been the effect of this change in childhood associates in terms of child growth and development? Let us first consider the parental and other adult influences on the life of the child. Brofenbrenner (*3*), of Cornell University and one of the founding fathers of Head Start, states that the child's psychological development, to the extent that it is susceptible to environmental influence, is determined almost entirely by the parents within the first six years of life. Yet, it is this parental and adult influence on the child's life which is lessened in the life of today's child.

Now let us consider the influence of peer group association on the development of the child, since today's children spend more time with other children than they do with adults. A major conclusion of the now famous Coleman report (*5*) is that the most important factor affecting the child's intellectual achievement is the pattern of characteristics of the peer group with whom the child associates.

What about the influence of television viewing on today's child? Research by Bandura and Eron (*2*) indicates that children who are rated most aggressive by their classmates are those children who watch TV programs involving a high degree of violence.

The evidence seems clear that no impact on the learning patterns of the culturally different, or of the advantaged child, can be made unless it is understood that the pupil of today is a different kind of pupil.

A third imperative facing today's educators is the necessity of realizing that a different kind of *teacher* is operating in this different world culture. Three decades ago the teacher was, in the main, an underpaid, secondclass citizen. He was hired primarily to be a disciplinarian, to follow the textbook and course of study with slavish fidelity, and to concentrate primarily on middle- and upper-class pupils in a system that tended to eliminate (without serious attack on anyone's conscience) those pupils who could not succeed in passing at arbitrarily determined grade levels. Admittedly, this is not a true description of the best teachers in that era; for there have been dedicated and committed teachers for many, many years. Agnew (*1*) depicts briefly the effective 20th century teacher when he states that the 20th century teacher of the last quarter is not primarily a disciplinarian because the activities in the school are presumably so interesting that, hopefully, children learn self-discipline. The new teacher is not concerned alone with middle- and upper-class pupils but with all pupils who come under his influence. Today's teachers are more aware that theirs is a role of teaching all pupils—the culturally limited as well as the advantaged, the poor as well as the rich, the black as well as the nonblack, the superior as well as the inferior.

Another factor to be considered in the changed role of the classroom teacher is that the teacher in this quarter of the 20th century, more than ever before, is seeking involvement in the policy aspect and executive function of the school. Whether school administrators agree with this factor or not is beside the point. What today's school administrators must realize is that classroom teacher organizations and teacher unions, in supporting the teachers' efforts in this direction, are creating a new role for the classroom teacher and thus a new role for the school superintendent, the school principal, and the school supervisor. There appears to be little doubt that today's educators can do little or nothing to improve the educational performance of pupils unless it is realized that today's teacher is a different instructor than the classroom pedagogue of the recent yesteryears.

A fourth imperative facing today's educators is the necessity to realize that operating in this different world culture is a different kind of *parent* and *community citizen*. In many communities it is being increasingly emphasized that parents and other community citizens supply the two main ingredients of the "educational cake" —the children and the money—and thus feel that they are entitled to more extensive involvement in what happens to their children, educationally speaking, notwithstanding the fact that many of these parents and other community citizens lack the ability to make formal contributions to the educational process. The increase in parent and citizen involvement in school affairs is particularly noticeable in less affluent populations, which contain many of today's culturally different pupils. Any educator who disregards this new kind of *parent* and *community citizen* may be likened unto the ostrich who sticks his head in the sand and loses sight of the world as it passes him by.

## Changing Learning Patterns of the Culturally Different

In the light of these four imperatives facing today's educators, it seems appropriate to indicate three general suggestions which educators might find useful as they attempt to provide an improved learning climate for teaching their pupils.

1. If today's educators are to play their respective roles in changing the learning patterns of the culturally different, educators must dedicate themselves to the concept that behavior, regardless of a person's age or experience, is influenced by the way in which environments help satisfy drives for love, social identity, recognition, belonging, participation, and security. Any program of formal education that is not predicated on such a commitment, no matter how sophisticated, inventive, or innovative, is doomed to failure.
2. If today's educators are to play their respective roles in changing the learning patterns of the culturally different, educators must be *creative* rather than just *operative*. True, they must do some operative things, such as setting up school schedules and performing routine school housekeeping chores; however, they must concentrate primarily on the school practices that are more creative in nature, such as suggesting and developing inventive and innovative programs for improving the cognitive and affective behavior of their pupils.
3. If today's educators are to be active agents in changing the learning patterns of the culturally different, educators must concentrate primarily on inventive and innovative concepts and practices *appropriate for the culturally different segment of the Amer-*

*ican society.* For educators, these roles are similar; for specialists they vary somewhat.

*Roles of a superintendent or principal*

a. He must have conceptualizations of educational invention and innovation growing out of a need for change, and he must not only tolerate but also actively encourage and welcome such inventive and innovative conceptualizations from his staff.

b. He must have the ability to aid his staff in implementing his or their inventive and innovative conceptualizations.

c. He must have the courage to appropriately defend both his and his staff's educational inventions and innovations, and their consequent implementation, in the total context of whatever this defense requires.

d. He must be a symbol of nonretaliation and tactful negotiation, and this is a completely new role for which Education 868 in the graduate school of University x cannot adequately prepare today's school superintendent or school principal. This new role of nonretaliation and tactful negotiation requires the wisdom of Solomon, the courage of David, the patience of Job, and the tact of the late Sir Winston Churchill, as when negotiating a loan from the United States! Organized expressions of pupil dissent; well-designed action programs of teacher protest sponsored by local, state, and national teacher organizations and by teacher unions; community-centered manifestations of parental and citizen dissatisfaction with school policies and practices; any one of these separately or any two or more of them in combination may descend upon today's school administrator at any time. Against this background of potential attack upon the educational establishment, the school administrator must not become unduly alarmed if it happens to him. The slogan of the Girl Scouts, *Semper Paratus,* or "always prepared," should be his continual watchword; for he knows neither the time nor the hour when the clock may strike for him, and it would be asinine for a school administrator to believe that organized expressions of pupil dissent, teacher protest, and parental and citizen dissatisfaction cannot happen to him.

*Roles for a supervisor*

a. He must be intimately conversant with the best content and methodology for learning as these relate to the superior, the average, and the reluctant pupil.
b. Like the classroom teacher, the supervisor must realize that the priority instructional methodology criterion of a good teacher is the teacher's recognition of individual differences among his pupils. Since the culturally different pupil represents "a different kind of difference" (*4*), the supervisor must aid the classroom teacher in manifesting a special kind of *regard for* and *attention to* this "different kind of difference."

*Roles for the classroom teacher of the culturally different*

a. He must realize that the proper regard for the "different kind of difference" which the culturally different pupil manifests requires a teacher with the appropriate background in his special discipline, the necessary areas of psychology, and the professional education courses that are pedagogically sound.
b. He must be fully cognizant of the role of very early experience in shaping learning skills, ability, motivation, and personality. For example, he should be sensitive to the fact that the view of intelligence as a fixed quantity, determined solely by heredity, has been rejected. He should also know that children from very culturally different backgrounds, when placed in more favorable environments, including nursery schools and kindergartens, show marked increases in intelligence test scores.
c. Today's classroom teacher of the culturally different must be knowledgeable about both attitude and aptitude deficits which culturally different pupils manifest.

d. Today's classroom teacher of the culturally different should be fully cognizant of the difficulty in transmitting certain "learning to learn" skills to his pupils.

## An Action Program for Change

Feeling that changing the learning patterns of the culturally different could be better effected within the combined perspective of the four imperatives just described, and the three suggestions for implementation related thereto, the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools in 1964 established the Education Improvement Project. The Danforth Foundation made an initial grant of $450,000 to provide funds for the central administration of the project in Atlanta. The Ford Foundation, the Fund for the Advancement of Education, the Danforth Foundation, the Noyes Foundation, the United States Office of Education, and the Office of Economic Opportunity are funding various operational aspects of the EIP effort.

### *What Is the Education Improvement Project?*

The Education Improvement Project may be considered as a kind of "umbrella" project which includes nine component parts, all of which have the same general objective—improving the educational performance of the culturally different—but each of which utilizes some unique vehicle or vehicles to achieve this objective. Six of the nine components of the EIP umbrella are still operative; three have been terminated. A brief statement about each of these components follows.

*The urban center program.* A public school system and two or more colleges or universities, working cooperatively, comprise an urban center. The urban center program demonstrates that when appropriate provisions are made for meeting their educational needs, disadvantaged youngsters in the public schools show significantly better academic achievement, and, in many cases, begin to function at a higher intellectual level than previously. The five urban centers in this project are Nashville, Tennessee; Durham, North Carolina; Atlanta, Georgia; Huntsville, Alabama; and New Orleans, Louisiana. A Ford Foundation grant of $14,471,700 (approximately $3,000,000 per urban center over a five-year period) supports this part of the EIP umbrella.

*Project opportunity.* Project opportunity is the educational child of two groups—the College Entrance Examination Board and the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools. A school system, rural or urban, and one or more colleges or universities working cooperatively comprise a project opportunity center. This program is primarily concerned with preparing the culturally different, yet talented, individuals for education in and beyond high school. The program includes eleven selected high schools in eight southern states. The schools, through a variety of devices, identify students in the seventh grade who are potentially high achievers. These students are followed for six years, until high school graduation, and are supported in their efforts to qualify for college through special educational programs, counseling, and guidance. Those qualifying will be awarded college scholarships. Seventeen colleges are cooperating in the program. A Ford Foundation grant supports this project to the amount of $1,808,680 for the first five years. This is a fifteen-year program broken down into three proposed funding periods of five years each.

*The rural center program.* The rural center program is a consortium of educational institutions, organizations, and agencies collaborating in an effort to improve the educational performance of disadvantaged pupils in rural areas, from preschool through high school. The project currently includes a program in one rural center in three states—Florida, Georgia, and Tennessee. It is planned to establish such a program in a rural center in each of the other eight states in the SACS region—Alabama, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Texas, and Virginia. The Danforth Foundation ($1,145,045 for a five-year period) and the Noyes Foundation ($150,000 for a five-year period) fund the rural center programs in Overton County, Tennessee; Wewahitchka, Florida; and Wheeler County, Georgia.

*The college preparatory center program* (operational). This program was designed to assist culturally different youth who have been graduated from high school but who, in spite of evidence of ability, find themselves hindered in further formal education by the level of their prior preparation. In this program, which operated with its own staff on the campuses of three junior colleges in South Carolina, about 300 students were given intensive training of up to forty weeks duration to assist them in overcoming their deficiencies and in proceeding to college or other formal post-high school training. Necessary books, supplies, and meals while on the campus were provided for all students enrolled. Friendship Junior College (Rockhill, S. C.); Mather Junior College (Beaufort, S. C.); and Voorhees Junior College (Denmark, S. C.)—now Voorhees Senior College—were the participating institutions in this project which was terminated in 1967. A grant of $883,250 from the Office of Economic Opportunity financed this program, which covered a period of sixteen months in 1966-1967.

*The college preparatory center program* (follow-up). The Babcock Foundation is providing a $9,375 grant for a four-year follow-up study of the students participating in the college preparatory center program.

*The college education achievement program.* This program is an outgrowth of an earlier pilot program, the college preparatory center program. Thirteen predominantly Negro colleges and universities participate in this program. The target population is drawn from students of academic potential who are handicapped in pursuing post-high school education by inadequate preparation. Many of the more than 1,300 students in the project were not ordinarily eligible for college admission. Essentially this is a kind of nongraded college program. The project was funded for 1968-1969 by a $1,957,424 grant from the United States Office of Education, Title III, Higher Education Act, Division of College Support.

*The reading institute program.* This was a program conducted at Atlanta University and designed to improve the teaching performance of elementary and secondary school reading teachers. Initiated in 1964 and extending over a two-year period, this program, now terminated, was supported by a grant of $125,000 from the Ford Foundation.

*The paperback book project program.* Ninety-nine predominantly Negro colleges and universities participated in this project, now terminated, as did all the high schools in project opportunity.

Paperback books were purchased for the respective colleges and universities in this project, as well as for all the high schools in project opportunity. Paperback book purchases for the respective institutions were made on the basis of an estimated $1 for one book for each student enrolled in the college or university. For example, Howard University in Washington, D. C., received an allocation of $10,438.32 in paperback books. The Fund for the Advancement of Education, an ally of the Ford Foundation, made a grant of $173,800 to cover the cost of this program.

*The microteaching project program.* This is a research and demonstration project designed to investigate the effect of an adaptation of the microteaching technique on the instructional performance of rural school teachers. Jointly funded by the Small Grants Division of the U. S. Office of Education in the amount of $9,478.50 and by the Noyes Foundation in the amount of $9,000, this program was terminated in September 1969.

## The EIP Umbrella—A Retrospective and Prospective Look

The $24,396,872.50 which the Education Improvement Project has been instrumental in making available for the educational improvement activities indicated is an attestation to the fact that the EIP umbrella, with its component inventive and innovative programs, has a record of significance as an action effort for change. More important to the American dream, however, is that the program has a future of unlimited potential, that of assuring every American child the opportunity of realizing his American birthright—an education appropriate to his needs.

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# Predictors of Success in Beginning Reading Among Negroes and Whites

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MCNEMAR, in his presidential address to the American Psychological Association in September 1964, reasserted the strength and importance of the concept of general intelligence. More recently Jenson, in a much discussed article in the *Harvard Educational Review*, has summarized the research supporting the hereditability of general intelligence and has called to the attention of educators the validity of intelligence tests and their relevance as predictors of academic success. Ames (*1*) recently asserted a similar position declaring specifically that low intelligence is a prominent and often unrecognized explanation for low achievement in reading.

The further assertions by Jenson that lower intelligence is a characteristic of children of lower socioeconomic status and that social isolation may lead to a deterioration of intelligence for a minority group have led to a violent reaction by environmentalists who would claim a far greater importance for social influences.

Regardless of the theoretical and practical differences between these two camps, it would seem necessary that educators give close attention to some of the major implications that follow from the Jenson, McNemar, and Ames positions. The first of these is the importance they attribute to the establishment of equal educational and vocational opportunities for all members of our society. The second is that educational techniques, which have traditionally been attuned to the 100+IQ, white, middle-class child, will require change if they are to be useful for the total population of students. Third, the redesigned curriculum must concentrate less upon immediate compensatory goals and more upon long range developmental programs individuated for all groups. Finally, educators must study intensely academic achievement which, to a far greater degree than intelligence, *is* subject to social and educational influence.

Perhaps the most prominent academic deficiency among lower-class school children is their failure to learn to read in first grade. Moreover, this early failure all too often predicts later failure and eventual discontinuance of education altogether. A fair proportion of our lower-class students never attains literacy, and the learning difficulty of the lower class (particularly the Negro child) is one of our most pressing educational problems.

For this reason it would seem necessary to reexamine the common predictors of success in beginning reading for children of *varying* backgrounds and to extend this investigation to other possible correlates. Such has been the purpose of this study. It was believed that an investigation of personal, social, and academic characteristics of children who succeeded in learning to read would promote a better understanding of educational strategies for first grade teaching.

## Method

*Subjects.* Subjects consisted of 192 children: half white, half Negro; half boys, half girls; half "higher" class, hlaf "lower;" average age 78.1 months at the beginning of the study, who entered first grade in eight schools in two adjoining rural Southern counties. Before the sample was selected, information about race, sex, and guardian's occupation was collected for all children registered to enter first grade. Hollingshead's Occupational Scale was used to categorize the children roughly by class, with levels six and seven (semiskilled and unskilled laborers) constituting the "lower" class and levels one through five, the "higher" class. The schools were in the initial stages of desegregation and varied widely in racial composition. Four subjects were lost from the original sample due to withdrawal from school, leaving an N of 188.

*Procedure.* Within one week of school entrance, all S's were tested with the Children's Self-Social Constructs Test (CSSCT, preschool form) by six female E's. The CSSCT is a paper and pencil, nonverbal instrument providing measures of self-esteem; social dependency; identification with and preference for mother, father, teacher, and friend; realism as to size; and minority identification. The test is administered individually; all directions are oral and all responses, nonverbal. The child selects a symbol (circle) to represent the "self" from among those presented to him or pastes a gummed circle (representing the self) on the page in relation to symbols representing others. It is assumed that the child can express his self-social concepts symbolically, using common symbolic meanings.

*Esteem* is indicated by selection of a circle to represent the self higher rather than lower in a column of circles. *Social dependency* is measured by placement of a gummed circle representing the self within, rather than without, a group of circles representing others; *identification* with mother, father, teacher, and friend, by a circle nearer rather than farther from a symbol representing the other; *preference* for these persons, by placing the "self" circle near a symbol representing the other person (forced choice); *realism* by the selection of a smaller, rather than a larger, circle from an array of circles; and *minority identification* by the selection of a shaded circle, rather than a plain one, after viewing an array of circles, the majority of which are plain. Except for the forced choice items (preference) all tasks are presented from two-to-four times, and scores are summed. Split-half reliabilities, corrected for length, ranged from .48 to .85 with a median of .73. Evidence for construct validity is summarized elsewhere (*4*).

After the first six weeks of school, teachers rated each child on 24 kinds of classroom behavior thought related to good school adjustment. These ratings were summed (split-half reliability for summed score = .95) for certain analyses, but analysed separately for others. Information about families, preschool attendance, and the results of the fall testing with the Metropolitan Readiness Test were obtained from schools. In the spring, Otis Quick-Scoring Mental Ability tests were administered to all subjects by the experimenters. During the first few months of the next school year, the Metropolitan Reading Test was administered to those subjects (145) who had been promoted to the second grade. It was assumed that those children not promoted were unable to read.

## Results

Results will be presented, first, in terms of differences in achievement for the two races and, next, for the correlates of achievement for each race. All findings reported are significant at the .05 level or above with a two-tailed test.

At the end of the first grade, 84 percent of the white children and 71 percent of the Negroes were promoted to the second grade—a significant difference. Among those promoted, white children were significantly higher in total reading and in IQ. Further, 43 percent of the promoted Negro sample achieved reading scores at a "chance" level or below in contrast to only 18 percent of the whites, again a significant difference. Finally, Negro and white children differed significantly in reading with IQ controlled statistically.

Because of the substantial and significant differences in achievement between the two races, it was decided to analyze other variables in relation to achievement for the two races separately.

For white children, three measures were found to be about equally good predictors of total reading achievement: teacher rating .45, readiness .46, and IQ .41. Age was positively correlated with achievement ($r = .22$), and this effect was due largely to the boys ($r = .41$) as opposed to ($r = .11$) for the girls only. These four variables produced a multiple $R$ with achievement of .63. No significant correlations were found for kindergarten attendance, presence of father in the home, or number of siblings. Correlates with self-social variables differed for the two sexes. Achieving girls were significantly further from father ($r = .47$), and boys had higher esteem, particularly with IQ controlled ($r = .37$).

Among the Negroes, teacher ratings correlated significantly with reading achievement ($r = .33$), and this finding appeared attributable to the boys ($r = .50$) and not to girls ($r = .15$). A somewhat less-strong relationship to achievement was found with IQ for this group ($r = .26$). Low negative relations, of borderline significance, were found between achievement and both readiness and kindergarten attendance ($r = -.18$ and $-.20$). No significant family correlates were found for the Negroes, though there was a trend for

Negro boys in terms of father presence and fewer sisters in the home (.10). These trends also occurred for white boys with the consequence that father presence and fewer sisters in the home did attain significant levels with all boys combined. As with the white subjects, the sexes differed among the Negro sample for self-social correlates. Achieving girls were farther from mother and chose to place the self with mother less and friend more. With Negro and white girls combined, achievement was associated with greater distance from mother and father.

## Discussion

In this study, Negro and white children differed significantly in all measures of achievement and in intelligence. This finding is in keeping with a wide variety of studies in which high and low class and/or Negro and white comparisons have been made. On the other hand, the difference in achievement between the two groups is out of proportion with the difference of capacity and suggests that the schools are failing with the black children even in grade one. Such a finding is inconsistent with our declared belief in equal educational opportunity and suggests the need for improved teaching effectiveness.

For the white children, a familiar array of variables predicts success in learning to read: IQ, readiness tests, teacher ratings, and age. Higher esteem in the boys and separation from parents for the girls were also related to success. The latter pattern, which suggests a mature independence, was also found for the Negro girls. Combining the Negro and white boys, father presence and fewer sisters were also related to reading success. This set of findings suggests that the amount of adult attention may be of consequence for achievement with boys.

Among the predictors of reading success for the black children, perhaps the most interesting are the low (.26) correlation between IQ and reading and the negative correlations for kindergarten attendance and standardized readiness tests among those who were promoted. This set of findings suggests the probable "hot house" effect of Head Start, which was *related* to achievement on readiness tests but failed ultimately to maintain its relationship to achievement by the end of the first grade year. These findings suggest the lower utility of standardized tests as predictors of achievement for the Negro sample and the greater usefulness of teacher ratings, particularly for the Negro boy. This finding emphasizes the need for trained teachers who are capable of exercising judgment in the classroom as they work with these beginning pupils.

Relations between achievement and the self-social measures were different among the various groups, and relatively few in number. Because the initial analysis did not take into account the 43 subjects who were not promoted, a second, more detailed analysis was made of the self-social variables. For these analyses, which were done separately for the two races, each group was divided into three parts—those who failed, those who were promoted but could not read, and those who succeeded in learning to read.

Time does not permit a detailed presentation of the findings of these analyses, but these findings will be considered briefly along with some tentative conclusions. First, it should be noted that overall findings exceeded those expected by "chance." Patterns within each race were not identical, although a number of similarities appeared. The results, in general, appear to be most readily interpretable for the Negro children where numbers in each cell were roughly comparable.

Among the Negroes, the three groups had about the same incidence of father absence but differed somewhat in socioeconomic class with the higher class favoring achievement. Number of siblings was higher for the repeaters than for the other two groups. The three groups differed significantly from one another in both IQ and teacher ratings. The rating items that showed a regular increase over the three groups with significant difference between each pair included 1) follows directions, 2) works independently of teacher, 3) contributes to discussion, and 4) explores experiences eagerly.

The findings and interpretations for each group follow:

The repeaters, some of whom were placed in "readiness" classes where little formal instruction in reading was given, differed from the promoted nonreaders on the following additional items from the rating scale: 1) shy with teacher, 2) does not obey rules, 3) avoids leadership, 4) unable to play in group, and 5) does not talk to other children. These children tended (.10) to be low in esteem and unrealistic in the size items. They differentiated relatively little among the stimulus persons in the preference items. The girls showed high minority identification and preferred teacher to mother. The repeaters in the identification and dependence items were relatively distant from others, particularly parents. Since they are described as shy, unable to follow rules, or to play with others, this greater social distance may express a hostile or frightened withdrawal, rather than a comfortable independence. If so, such an *alienation* may explain their poor performance on IQ and readiness tests.

The promoted nonreaders, who were moderate in IQ and ratings and lower in social class but higher in readiness scores than the readers, tended to be closer to mother and father and to others in general than were the other *two* groups. The behavior scales which differentiate them significantly from the readers, in addition to the four already mentioned, included 1) overly dependent on teacher, 2) clings to familiar, 3) demands attention, 4) inattentive, and 5) does not complete tasks. The boys were higher in esteem; the girls, less teacher-oriented than those in either other group. The emerging picture of this group is one of an immature, overdependent child, similar in a number of respects to a group of children with reading problems in an earlier study (Henderson, Long, & Ziller, 1965), and bearing some resemblance to Ausubel's description of the "satellite."

The readers were higher than the other two groups in IQ scores and ratings. They placed themselves farther from parents and the group than the promoted nonreaders and were rated significantly higher than either other group on 14 of the 24 ratings, including "independence" and "exploring." The girls chose the majority "white" symbol to represent the self and preferred teacher to mother. Both boys and girls tended to select the small realistic symbol for the self and to differentiate between people, preferring mother, teacher, and friend to father. These children thus appear to have begun the desatellization process described by Ausubel and to be confident enough to move away from their parents as they enter school.

CORRELATIONS OF PREDICTOR VARIABLES TO TOTAL READING SCORES

| *Variables* | *Samples* | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *Total* | *Whites* | *Negroes* | *Boys* | *Girls* | *W.Boys* | *W.Girls* | *N.Boys* | *N.Girls* |
| N | 145 | 77 | 68 | 66 | 79 | 36 | 41 | 30 | 38 |
| IQ | .38 | .41 | .26 | .36 | .39 | .36 | .45 | .27 | .22 |
| Rating | .39 | .45 | .33 | .47 | .31 | .54 | .39 | .50 | .15 |
| Readiness | .24 | .46 | —.18 | .29 | .20 | .42 | .52 | —.08 | —.22 |
| K | .08 | .18 | —.20 | .05 | .11 | .18 | .18 | —.27 | —.11 |
| Age | .14 | .22 | —.00 | .20 | .08 | .41 | .11 | —.09 | .04 |
| Father | .21 | .10 | .17 | .31 | .11 | .13 | .09 | .29 | .04 |
| #Sisters | —.19 | —.15 | —.19 | —.29 | —.11 | —.22 | —.11 | —.32 | —.06 |

Among Negroes K and readiness +.39; both negative related reading (—.20; —.18)

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# Measures of Intelligence, Language, Creativity, Reading, and Written Language Achievement of Disadvantaged Children*

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THE ENVIRONMENTAL MILIEU of the educationally disadvantaged child offers few opportunities to develop the prerequisite skills necessary to attain mastery in reading. Auditory and visual stimuli in many lower class homes are generally restricted, unorganized, and qualitatively different from the stimuli provided children of higher socioeconomic status (*8*). The effects of these experimental limitations are reflected in the findings of a growing number of studies which indicate that disadvantaged children typically approach early school learning with significant perceptual, linguistic, and cognitive deficits (*6, 8, 28*).

The pervasive deficiencies of disadvantaged children in linguistic, cognitive, and perceptual abilities undoubtedly serve to limit the ability to develop early reading skills. Epidemiological surveys have reported the prevalence of reading failure to be four to ten times more common among children of low socioeconomic status groups in comparison to the rate in the rest of the school population (*3, 7, 15*). In one study, only 36 percent of 6,000 disadvantaged children in the primary grades were reported to be reading at the appropriate grade level (*25*). Deutch (*9*) has coined the term "cumulative deficit" to describe the tendency of the disadvantaged to fall progressively behind in academic subjects with each successive grade level.

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While available evidence suggests that disadvantaged children display a number of behavioral deficits, too few studies have documented the extent of these deficiencies in the areas of reading and language within the same samples. Many studies, moreover, have reported differences between disadvantaged and middle-class children by merely indicating statistical significance values and, consequently, make it difficult to interpret the magnitude of such discrepancies in educational terms (e.g., through age or grade level scores). Examination of the educational research literature also reveals that little attention has been devoted to the study of written language performance among disadvantaged children, even though their oral language characteristics have been well documented (*1, 18, 24, 28*).

A review of the general correlational literature indicates that few studies have explored the relationships between various intellective abilities and achievement among the disadvantaged. The correlations reported between measures of verbal intelligence and reading in unselected populations, however, have consistently varied between .40 and .75 (*23*). There is some evidence, obtained principally in cross-sectional studies, which suggests that the magnitude of correlations between these attributes increases with chronological age. Further consideration of correlational studies in this area also reveals that 1) the measures employed in past investigations have mostly consisted of group intelligence tests which require a minimal level of reading ability to respond, 2) few previous studies have included other factors in addition to verbal intelligence, such as oral language and creative thinking abilities, in assessing relationships with reading, and 3) the independent contribution of creativity and oral language scores to verbal intelligence in predicting the achievement of disadvantaged children has been largely ignored.

The present study was concerned with determining the academic and linguistic characteristics of disadvantaged children, as well as the magnitude of correlations between a number of tests and various aspects of achievement. Measures of verbal intelligence, creativity, oral language, and academic and written language achievement were administered to a relatively large sample of disadvantaged children in the first, second, and/or third grades. Data derived from these measures were employed to assess the following:

1. the extent and nature of differences between disadvantaged subjects and normative samples on measures of academic achievement, oral language, and written language;
2. the validity of verbal intelligence, oral language, and creativity measures in predicting academic and written language achievement;
3. the presence of any changes in the relationship between verbal intelligence and reading achievement with age; and
4. whether oral language and creativity measures would contribute significant variance to verbal IQ in the prediction of academic and written language achievement.

## Method

### *Subjects*

The sample consisted of 354 subjects, 177 boys and 177 girls, who had been enrolled for three years in the public schools of Metropolitan Nashville-Davidson County, Tennessee. After three years in school, the subjects had a mean IQ of 88.65 ($s = 12.89$) and were approximately 8 years, 10 months, in age. Approximately 80 percent of the sample consisted of black children, while the remaining 20 percent of the subjects were white. Most of the children had participated recently in a two-year research project designed to assess the efficacy of three phonically oriented reading approaches and an oral language stimulation program in the first two elementary grades (*11*).

Data on socioeconomic status (SES) were obtained through home interviews and ratings by various school personnel. Children were deleted from the sample on a number of SES criteria, including 1) a family income of more than $9,000; 2) residence in a very good house or apartment; 3) residence in a good house or apartment with a total family income in excess of $6,000; 4) occupational classification of the main wage earner of the family at the professional, technical, or managerial level; or 5) an educational attainment for the better educated parent of four or more years of college training. The

SES and school personnel ratings confirmed that the children came from economically disadvantaged backgrounds.

*Tests*

Each subject was administered measures of verbal intelligence, oral language, creative thinking, written language, and academic achievement. All tests were administered by trained and/or qualified psychometrists. The results reported herein are concerned with measures obtained at the beginning of the first grade and at the end of the second and third grades. The types of measures and schedule of testing are illustrated in Table 1. The tests are briefly described below.

TABLE 1

MEANS AND STANDARD DEVIATIONS ON INTELLIGENCE, LANGUAGE, CREATIVITY AND ACHIEVEMENT MEASURE

| *Measure* | *N* | $\overline{X}$ | *s* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Stanford-Binet IQ (prereading) | 354 | 86.87 | 10.50 |
| Stanford-Binet IQ (2nd grade) | 354 | 89.61 | 13.34 |
| Stanford-Binet IQ (3rd grade) | 354 | 88.65 | 12.89 |
| ITPA-LA (prereading) | 354 | 62.37[a] | 8.09 |
| ITPA-LA (2nd grade) | 354 | 80.45 | 11.15 |
| ITPA-LA (3rd grade) | 354 | 89.00 | 12.09 |
| Torrance Tests of Creative Thinking (3rd grade) | 354 | 80.05 | 28.02 |
| Metropolitan Achievement Tests (2nd grade) | 354 | 2.61[b] | .88 |
| Metropolitan Achievement Tests (3rd grade) | 354 | 2.74[c] | .83 |
| PSLT-Words/Sentence (3rd grade) | 354 | 7.23 | 2.82 |

***Stanford-Binet Intelligence Scale.*** The Stanford-Binet Intelligence Scale, Form L-M (*26*) is essentially a measure of general verbal ability. The test includes items ranging from simple manipulation of objects to questions which require abstract reasoning. The Stanford-Binet was administered to the subjects at the outset of the first grade as well as toward the end of the second and third grades.

*Oral Language Development.* The Illinois Test of Psycholinguistic Abilities (ITPA), Experimental Edition (*20*), was used to measure oral language performance. The ITPA provides a profile of nine separate language abilities and a total language age (LA) score for children between the ages of two and nine years. Individual subtests consist of meaningful or rote language tasks which are presented to the subject via either the auditory or visual modality. The ITPA is designed to measure receptive, expressive, or associational language abilities. Only the total LA score was included in the statistical analyses. The ITPA was also administered at the outset of the first grade as well as toward the end of the second and third grades.

*Creative thinking.* Four verbal activities from the Torrance Tests of Creative Thinking, Research Edition (27), were used to assess creative thinking. Many definitions of creativity exist, including invention, discovery, and rare, highly specific kinds of ability. According to Torrance (27:6), creativity is defined as "a process of becoming sensitive to problems, deficiencies, gaps in knowledge, missing elements, disharmonies, and so on: identifying the difficulty, searching for solutions, making guesses, or formulating hypotheses about the deficiencies, testing and retesting these hypotheses and possibly modifying and retesting them, and finally communicating the results."

Although the Verbal Tests consist of seven parallel activities, only the four activities of Form A were administered. These activities are described briefly as follows:

1. The Ask and Guess Activity is designed to elicit questions which are not answerable by merely looking at the picture.
2. The Guess Causes Activity requires the subject to formulate hypotheses about the causes of a pictured event.
3. The Guess Consequences Activity is designed to reveal the subject's ability to formulate hypotheses concerning the possible consequences of an event.
4. The Product Improvement Activity is designed to produce ideas for improving a toy so that it will be more fun for children to play with.

The four scores which were derived from the Verbal Subtest Activities are described below:

1. Verbal Fluency reflects the ability involved in producing a large number of ideas with words.
2. Verbal Flexibility represents the subject's ability to produce, shift, and use different types of ideas or strategies.
3. Originality involves the ability to produce ideas that are distinct from the obvious and commonplace.
4. Total Torrance performance comprises the arithmetic sum of the Fluency, Flexibility, and Originality scores.

All test protocols were evaluated by the same examiner according to scoring criteria in the test manual. (The scoring criteria were altered slightly to include a category dealing with the physical characteristics of the drawing—e.g., artist's initials, lines.) The creativity tests were administered only in the third grade.

*Reading and Spelling Achievement.* The Metropolitan Achievement Tests (MAT) were used to measure academic achievement (*13, 14*). The written language subtests of the Primary II Battery were administered toward the end of the second grade; at the end of the third year, the subjects were administered the reading, spelling, and language subtests of the Elementary Battery. All achievement testing was conducted by trained examiners in small group sessions.

*Written language development.* The Picture Story Language Test (*22*) was used to obtain measures of written language ability. The children were asked to write a story about a picture which was evaluated for 1) productivity, 2) grammatical correctness, and 3) nature of content or abstraction. Productivity was measured by computing the number of words per sentence. Grammatical correctness or syntax was evaluated by assessing accuracy in word usage, word endings, and punctuation. Meaning or level of abstraction was assessed by the application of an abstract-concrete scale to the test protocols with score values ranging from zero to 25.

The PSLT was standardized on 747 normal pupils in metropolitan, rural, and suburban schools in a single Midwestern state. An approximately equal number of males and females was sampled at alternate ages between seven and 17 years. Because the standardization did not include children corresponding to the chronological age of the sample, it was necessary to compare all scores to interpolated norms. The interpolated norms were derived by dividing increases in scores in this age range into equal increments, each of which corresponded to a one-month interval. (Growth in the three areas of written language between the ages of seven and nine display linear trends.)

## Summary and Results

One of the purposes of the present study was to assess the extent and nature of the differences between disadvantaged children and normative samples on academic achievement and measures of oral and written language. On all MAT subtests, the subjects attained scores appreciably below those of the normative samples. Consistent with the findings of past studies of the disadvantaged (*8, 17*), the children displayed evidence of progressive retardation in achievement from the second to the third grades. Evidence of progressive retardation in achievement, however, may have been partially an artifact of subtle differences in the Primary II and Elementary Batteries of the MAT administered at the end of the second and third grades, respectively.

Disparities of approximately 18 months between the subjects and the normative samples were obtained on the measures of oral and written language. In written language, the age score attainments of the subjects on measures of productivity, grammatical correctness, and level of abstraction were at least 16 months below the scores obtained by the standardization sample. The most significant MAT and written language performance deficits appeared on measures of syntax or grammatical correctness involving aspects of word usage and punctuation.

These findings are largely consonant with those of past studies indicating the presence of marked linguistic deficiencies among disadvantaged children. In the related area of perception, children of low socioeconomic status have been found consistently inferior to middle-class peers in a number of auditory skills, particularly on tasks requiring auditory discrimination, auditory memory, and auditory sound blending (*2, 4, 6, 21*). Other studies have indicated that the oral language of children from educationally disadvantaged backgrounds is characteristically informal, syntactically inferior, and focuses primarily upon concrete needs and immediate circumstances (*1, 24*).

The educational implications of these findings may be obvious. Apparently, many disadvantaged children possess language styles and habits which are often inadequate to develop reading skills under traditional reading programs. In many instances, they lack the requisite auditory receptive and formal language abilities to cope successfully with the level of linguistic and perceptual demands of typical reading materials. Too great a discontinuity between the characteristics of disadvantaged children and the skill demands of the extant early reading programs undoubtedly contributes to the difficulty encountered in learning to read. As a partial antidote to this problem, efforts in preschool and/or compensatory education should place major emphasis upon systematic training in the more formal aspects of language, including supportive remedial exercises in various auditory perceptual skills. With preschool disadvantaged children there is some recent evidence to suggest that greater linguistic and cognitive growth accrues from the employment of more highly structured approaches of teaching language (*10*).

Another objective of the study was concerned with assessing correlations among measures of verbal intelligence, oral language, creativity, and aspects of academic and written language achievement. Most of the predictive and concurrent correlations of IQ's and LA's with achievement test scores were moderate in magnitude and ranged between .40 and .60. These correlations were similar in magnitude to those obtained in previous studies with unselected children (*23*). Moreover, LA contributed significant variance to IQ in predicting most academic and written language achievement test scores. However, verbal intelligence and oral language scores combined were found to predict only about 25 percent of the differences in achievement test scores. Support was also obtained for the findings of past studies which reported increases in the magnitude of correlations between measures of intelligence and reading performance with age (*12, 16, 19*).

Few of the correlations between creativity test scores and measures of achievement were statistically significant. The correlations were negligible and fell within the range of .02 to .20. Measures of creativity did not add significant variance to verbal IQ in predicting either academic or written language achievement scores. The correlations between creativity scores and achievement in the present study were generally lower than those reported in previous studies (27).

In evaluating these data, however, it is important to note that the magnitude relationships between measures of creativity and school achievement may be influenced by the degree to which creativity and divergent thinking are emphasized in the classroom instructional program. As Torrance (27:47) has recently stated:

> If measures of achievement took into consideration creative applications of information . . . and/or if subject matter were acquired in creative ways, one could expect high correlations between creative thinking measures and achievement.

Further research is needed to assess the degree to which relationships between measures of creativity and achievement are differentially affected by variations in instructional emphasis.

A final comment on future strategies of research in reading appears to be in order. Studies similar in design to the present one, in which factorially complex aptitude measures are correlated with facets of school achievement, yield information of limited value on either the nature of the reading process or the problems of planning reading instruction. Future research endeavors should seek to assess relationships between measures of more specific, clearly defined behavioral attributes and reading across a wide range of developmental levels. Moreover, an examination of past correlational studies reveals a number of persistent methodological problems which preclude the drawing of unequivocal interpretations of the relationships reported between various behavioral attributes and reading performance. Some of the more prevalent methodological problems include 1) the employment of poorly described and unrepresentative samples, 2) the use of samples within a narrowly restricted age range, and 3) the selection of predictors which require reading, thereby hopelessly confounding the independent and dependent variables. Carefully designed investigations across developmental levels are needed to illuminate the nature of relationships between various behavior attributes and aspects of the reading process.

Another major thrust of reading research has been concerned with evaluating the relative effectiveness of various reading approaches. Few aspects of the elementary school curriculum have evoked as much acrimony as the issue over what constitutes the most efficacious method to develop early reading skills. Recently, the field of reading research has generated a large number of evaluative studies in this area. Despite the fact that this spate of studies has yielded valuable data on the teaching of reading, none of the current methods has been found very successful in appreciably reducing the prevalence of reading disability among disadvantaged children. The failure to reduce reading difficulties substantively among the disadvantaged may result from a tendency of researchers to overemphasize "method" differences, while concomitantly ignoring important individual differences among children. A more productive approach to reading research would require the development of new strategies which focus upon assessing simultaneously the interaction between the individual differences of children and salient characteristics of current and/or new approaches to teaching reading. This approach to educational research problems was first suggested by Cronbach (5:680) in an address to the American Psychological Association. In discussing the heuristic value of this research paradigm, Cronbach stated:

> Applied psychologists should deal with treatments and persons simultaneously. Treatments are characterized by many dimensions; so are persons. . . . We should design treatments, not to fit the average person, but to fit groups of students with particular aptitude patterns.

Perhaps the application of the aptitude-treatment interaction approach to research in the field of reading could be useful in identifying whether unique learning styles of children interact significantly with differentiated approaches to reading instruction. Hopefully, information derived from the delineation of individual differences which interact with specific reading methods could be utilized to design instructional approaches to eliminate or reduce the difficulties many disadvantaged children encounter in learning to read.

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# Selected Language Research and Its Implications for Teaching Reading to the Disadvantaged

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SINCE the late 1950's when the plight of the educationally disadvantaged became widely known, special education programs for the disadvantaged learner have increased in number. Professional literature has reflected the interest and concerns of the educator. Many articles have reviewed and described major innovative projects, such as *The Great Cities Improvement Program*. Because of the attention given to these types of innovative efforts, I would like to discuss a specific area of language research which appears to show some promise of making a significant contribution to instructional programs for the educationally disadvantaged.

During the past two decades, language research concerning disadvantaged youths has been focused on prerequisite skills to language learning, extent of vocabulary, and grammatical usage of standard English. Bloom, Davis, and Hess (*3*) indicate that the disadvantaged child comes to school from a home background in which language use is different from that of the middle-class child. In middle-class homes, language is used in a variety of ways. Some uses include discussions to explore ideas, to analyze feelings, and to clarify individual interpretations. In the deprived home, language is used in a much more limited way. Communication often takes place through gestures and other nonverbal means. Also, the language used is often grammatically incorrect and likely to be limited to a small number of grammatical forms.

Language differences between socioeconomic classes, in terms of classroom performance, were summarized by Gordon (*6*). Middle-class children mastered a higher number of speech sounds, articulated better, demonstrated a greater frequency of mature-sentence types, constructed more complex sentences, verbally built better-elaborated concepts, and showed a higher incidence of words. On the other hand, lower-class children's language behavior was found to be characterized as "restricted," i.e., communicated signals and direction with thinking confined to a relatively low repetitive level. Generally, there was a delay in language acquisition which very likely resulted in some difficulty in making the language transition necessary for dealing with abstract modes of thought. While these research findings demonstrated the profound and complex problems faced by the culturally disadvantaged in the school setting, the findings also established a research base for a different kind of language research. This research began to ask a new set of questions. The questions placed a new perspective on the language of the disadvantaged. Much of the earlier research appeared to place the language of the disadvantaged as an inferior version of standard English. The new research considered the language behavior of the disadvantaged as a different point on the language continuum that ranges from the most formal to the most free. It also viewed nonstandard English as a separate mode of expression. Nonstandard and standard English were viewed as different approaches to formal English, each having its own use. This view of the language acted as a springboard to an entirely new series of sociolinguistic studies on the language of the disadvantaged. Linguists conducting these studies were concerned with 1) examining the language differences in the black and white populations; 2) relating the language of the socially and educationally disadvantaged to school-related problems; and 3) exploring the possibility of developing instructional materials based on the culturally different language systems of students.

What have the researchers found concerning the language systems of these different cultural groups? How do the findings of this research relate to school problems?

To provide an answer to the first question, one need only review the studies of Bailey (*1*), Dillard (*4*), Labov (*7*) and Shuy, Wolfram, and Riley (*12*). These researchers have described the techniques and linguistic parameters of Negro nonstandard English. Labov, however, points out that even though there are distinct features in the nonstandard Negro dialect, these distinctive features also occur in the speech of Northern and Southern whites.

What are some of the features of the nonstandard English dialect? Essentially the dialectical differences occur in the sound system, grammar, and vocabulary. Some of the more obvious differences in the sound system or phonological patterns are described by Labov (7). He categorizes the phonological differences into three classes: *r*-lessness, *l*-lessness, and consonant clusters simplification. The *r*-less pronunciation refers to extending the vowel sound in certain words so that the vowel sound obscures the *r*-sound. For example, a lengthened vowel sound in either *car* or *guard* obscures the *r*-sound. Other examples which Labov uses to illustrate the *r*-less pronunciation are the centering glide sound or [sch w a] in place of the *r* in *fear, feared, care, cared, bore,* and *bored.*

The *l*-less sounds found in the Negro dialect are illustrated in the following examples, Labov (7). Homonyms are formed by the following words: *toll = toe, help = hep, tool = too, all = awe, Saul = saw,* and *faught = fought.*

In the class of consonant clusters, the most general tendency is toward the simplification of consonant clusters at the end of words. Labov points out that there are two distinct tendencies among Negro speakers: 1) to reduce clusters at the end of words to single consonants, (*past-pass*), (*rift-riff*) and 2) a more general process of reducing the amount of information provided after stressed vowels, so that individual final consonants are affected as well. (She wowl = She wild!)

The grammatical differences between standard English and the nonstandard dialect of Negroes have been summarized by Baratz (1968). Some examples of these differences relate to verb in number, form, tense, subject expression, and use of the pronoun and indefinite articles. In the Negro dialect, the speaker often neglects to use a linking verb. For *"He is going,"* the speaker of nonstandard English says *"He — goin!"* In the nonstandard dialect there is often a lack of verb agreement. For *"He runs home,"* "He ru*n* home." The verb form is also different. "I *drank* the milk" becomes "I *drunk* the milk." In expressing the subject, the nonstandard dialect speaker often inserts a pronoun immediately after the subject. "Joe *he* live in Pittsburgh." In using the pronoun, the nonstandard dialect speaker often uses the third person pronoun in place of the first person pround. Instead of "*We* have to do it," it is "*Us* got to do it." When the nonstandard speaker uses the indefinite article, the *a* is not replaced by *an* in front of words beginning with a vowel. I want an apple is stated as "*I want a apple.*" There are other examples of the grammatical differences in the language systems of the speakers of nonstandard and standard English. (For a complete listing of these differences see Baratz, 1969.)

Another facet of the nonstandard dialect of the Negro speaker which has received some research attention is vocabulary. Shuy (*11*) reports that teachers hold the erroneous concept that because they lack school vocabulary disadvantaged children also lack overall vocabulary. Contradicting Shuy's assertion that the disadvantaged students do not lack general vocabulary is the research of Figurel (*5*) and Loban (*9*). Figurel compared culturally disadvantaged student's vocabulary with estimates from the Thorndikes' word list and found the students to be below the Thorndike estimates at all grade levels included in the study. Loban suggests that the disadvantaged were inferior on "language fluency measures" reported in his eight-year longitudinal study. One measure used to determine "language fluency" was the extent of the student's vocabulary. Possibly, the difference in viewpoints of these writers is a difference in research methodology. Shuy (*11*) hints at this when he states, "The notion that children in disadvantaged homes are products of language deprivation seems to mean only that the investigators proved to be such a cultural barrier to the interviewee that informants were too frightened and awed to talk freely, or that the investigators simply asked the wrong questions." While this statement is an oversimplification of the varieties of complex research problems an investigator might encounter, it does provide some insight into the methodological problems that could be involved with research in this area.

While these are some of the current research findings concerning the differences in the language systems of a selected population of standard and nonstandard speakers of English, it is important to stress that these are differences and not deficiencies. Linguists studying the Negro nonstandard English agree that the differences are systematized rules within the vernacular. The linguists agree also, as Baratz (1968) points out, that these differences can interfere with learning standard English.

A second question generated by the findings of linguistic researchers is "How do these research findings relate to school problems?" Shuy (*11*) suggests these findings concerning the language systems of the disadvantaged indicate that these students "speak another language." Shuy suggests also that since the linguistic system of the ghetto student is different from that of standard English, it (linguistic system) does interfere with learning reading skills taught in standard English. Labov (*8*), however, differs with Shuy's view of the effect of linguistic differences on learning. Labov states, "Practically nothing has been done in examining the vocabulary of instruction to see when speakers of nonstandard dialects might be at a disadvantage." He supports his viewpoint by pointing out that only two kinds of nonstandard dialects have been carried out to date: ". . . those carried out by linguists outside of school, and those carried out by psychologists and educational researchers within school." He states further, "The teaching process itself has not yet been observed through the lenses provided by systematic sociolinguistic analysis" (p. 41).

Although Labov's views on the lack of research in this area were valid at the time the statements were printed, more recent research has considered the question of teacher and pupil language differences. This research makes Labov's viewpoint less valid. A preliminary survey was reported in the *Reading Newsreport* (*10*) of a language project conducted by Marie Marcus at Louisiana State University. She found that teachers of lower-class children in her project use nonstandard English while instructing children. She found also that lower-class children had difficulty in understanding questions stated in standard English. One conclusion drawn by Marcus was ". . . without exception, that the teachers of the lower-class children serve as poor language models." Even though some of the data may suggest this conclusion, it appears pertinent to raise at least one question. Do the teachers in the project without exception serve as poor language models, or do some teachers imitate the language of the children in order to communicate effectively with the children?

Stewart (*13*) offers another point of view. He maintains that beginning reading materials should be adapted to the linguistic patterns of nonstandard Negro dialect. This author supports his viewpoint by anticipating and refuting four possible arguments against the development and use of such materials.

In summary then, while there does not appear to be unanimity of opinion among the linguists concerning the educational implications of sociolinguistic research, two of the three authors quoted above offer specific suggestions for making changes in school practice. Shuy (*11*) notes that educators have two options concerning how to make adjustments for the dialectical differences between text book materials and student dialect—"One is to adjust the child to suit the materials. The other is to adjust the materials to suit the child." On the one hand, to adjust the child to the materials implies that the child should learn standard English before learning to read. Because of the complex problems in teaching a child a new language and the questionable value of teaching students the standard English, Shuy recommends that materials be adjusted to the child. He offers three specific suggestions for adjusting text materials to the social dialect of the culturally disadvantaged:

1. Include in the beginning reading materials the grammatical forms which occur in nonstandard, even though they may be absent in standard English.
2. Exclude from the beginning reading materials the grammatical forms which occur in standard but do not occur in nonstandard.
3. Write beginning reading material in such a way that the syntactic structures of the written text reflect the syntactic structures of the reader's oral language experience in a way that is consistent with the task at hand—learning to read.

These suggestions have direct application to beginning reading. However, the suggestions also have implications for the culturally disadvantaged disabled reader at higher grade levels.

Stewart (*13*) proposes a third alternative to alleviate the problems associated with the nonstandard dialect. He suggests that some adjustment to both the materials and student be made. Initially, it would seem necessary to adjust the materials to fit the student's needs. After some initial instruction, materials could be designed as transition material, in which the student would have an opportunity to modify his responses to match the standard dialect or to modify the materials to match his dialect. The value of such a system would be the gradual recognition of the standard dialect—a prerequisite to academic success.

This brief review of selected language research clearly suggests new ways of thinking about nonstandard English dialects and new directions for research on language and instructional materials. The research suggests that educators need to be sensitive to the stigma of value judgments often associated with nonstandard English. Nonstandard English needs to be discussed as a difference model of English and not a deficit model. In addition, linguistic scholars need to delineate clearly the differences between standard and nonstandard rules and suggest applications for classroom instruction. Once the rules are clearly defined it will be possible for teachers to learn and apply the rules in the classroom. It will also be possible for publishers to consider developing instructional classroom materials which would incorporate the rules and discussions of their implications.

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# The Training and Use of Paraprofessionals in Teaching Reading

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MANY TEACHERS have helpers today. These helpers:

—collect money from pupils
—keep the classroom neat, well-lighted, and ventilated
—write passes for pupils
—requisition and maintain supplies
—check, inventory, and distribute materials
—make attendance and lunchroom reports
—handle routine classroom interruptions
—help supervise in the lunchroom, assembly, study hall, corridor, and playground
—duplicate materials
—requisition, operate, and make minor repairs on record players, filmstrip projectors, and other simple equipment

Under a teacher's direction they frequently:

—help set up bulletin boards and other displays
—assist in preparing instructional materials
—correct certain papers
—enter and average grades
—make arrangements for parent-teacher conferences
—handle makeup and homework requests for absentees
—make entries in cumulative folders
—administer certain tests
—conduct small-group drill

Depending on their special talents and skills, they sometimes:

—organize and maintain classroom files
—type instructional materials, tests, and reports
—help lay out the class newspaper

—read and tell stories to pupils
—play the piano

In short, classroom helpers take over and do many of the nonprofessional—and even some of the semiprofessional—tasks of the teacher. They relieve the teacher to spend more time in professional activities with pupils. These helpers, called paraprofessionals, present special challenges to schools and to reading instruction today.

The paraprofessional—called nonprofessional, auxiliary worker, or teacher aide at various times and places—is not a completely new school staff member. For many years schools have had a limited number of aides—perhaps helping with the school library or lunchroom or serving as school attendance officers. However, only in the past few years has the assignment of large numbers of people as aides taken place. The shortage of trained teachers; the explosion and proliferation of new knowledge; the need to keep apace with the rapid advances in technology; the dramatic changes in our society and our way of living; plus new funding available to local schools from federal and state programs, as well as from private foundations, to improve education have all converged to bring about a fresh look at, and new definitions of, the professional role of the teacher. As a result, paraprofessionals have become staff members in a significant number of schools.

## Prevalence of Paraprofessionals

In 1965, the New York State Education Department reported that the percentage of school districts using teacher aides had increased from less than 2 percent in 1955 to 68 percent in 1965 (*6*). Whereas in 1960 only 12 school systems in the six New England states used teacher aides (*5*), by 1967 the number had grown to 230 (*4*). In 1967 these 230 school systems in Connecticut, Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Vermont, and Rhode Island were using more than 2,500 subprofessional staff members. Indications are that in some states with a longer history of wide use of teacher aides—Michigan, for example, where in 1952 the Ford Foundation funded the Bay City program which made systemwide use of elementary school teacher aides—the percentage of school districts using aides and the number of aides at work are likely to be even larger than that reported for the New England states and New York.

During 1965-1966, the first school year of operation under the federally funded Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, which attempts to provide for the educational needs of economically deprived children and youth, schools throughout the United States hired more than 180,000 nonprofessionals to work in this program alone. Is it any wonder many people think that paraprofessionals as members of school staffs are here to stay, and in large numbers? If the present trend continues, and there is much to indicate it will, more and more schools will be using an increasing number of nonprofessional staff workers. Perhaps it won't be long before the ratio of professional to paraprofessional staff members in many schools is as much as 2 to 1.

## Role of Paraprofessionals

The role that teacher aides play in the school program is difficult to describe, partly because an aide's work is so diversified and partly because just what a particular aide does depends on his skills, his past experiences, his training, and the kind of person he is. Generally, his role is very flexible. He takes on new tasks as he proves he can handle them. The undergirding guideline for his work is the principle that he assists in instruction by assuming some of the more mechanical aspects of promoting pupil learning.

Several reports describing duties assumed by paraprofessional workers have been published in recent years. One of the most broadly based of these reports is detailed in the *NEA Research Bulletin* for May 1967 (*3*). The National Education Association surveyed the duties assumed by 29,995 paid aides in schools throughout the United States. The bulletin reports that the ten duties most frequently performed by aides, in order of frequency, were:

1. duplicating tests and other material
2. helping with classroom housekeeping
3. typing class materials and tests
4. setting up A-V equipment and other instructional materials

5. helping with children's clothing
6. supervising the playground
7. correcting tests, homework, and workbooks
8. reading aloud and story telling
9. assisting in the school library
10. collecting money from pupils.

Other recent reports draw a similar picture. Reports from Florida (*2*), North Carolina (*1*), and New York (*6*) all testify that duties of paraprofessionals were mainly noninstructional and clerical tasks that supported the professional activities of teachers and other members of the school staff.

In 1967 the New England Educational Assessment Project collected data from 1,724 teacher aides in the six New England states (*4*). The list of ten duties most frequently performed by these aides includes seven that are similar to duties listed in the NEA survey. The ten duties most likely to be performed by the New England aides were:

1. providing clerical assistance including duplicating materials
2. helping supervise the playground
3. helping supervise the lunch period
4. assisting with housekeeping chores and bulletin board arrangement
5. helping an individual child with his lessons
6. filing and cataloging materials
7. collecting money
8. checking objective tests under teacher supervision
9. correcting workbooks
10. preparing visual materials for instruction as determined by the teacher.

Of this list of duties, only helping supervise the lunch period, filing and cataloging materials, and helping the individual child with his lessons did not appear on the NEA list.

The New England Study is particularly interesting because it also asked 2,139 teachers who had experience in working with paraprofessionals what school duties they would recommend aides should perform. Most frequently recommended by these teachers were eight of the ten duties aides were already performing with most frequency. Only two frequently performed duties—helping the individual child with his lessons and correcting workbooks—were not among the ten most frequently recommended by teachers. On the other hand, two others, not most frequently performed—helping supervise bus loading and making out lunch reports—were recommended by almost 60 percent of these teachers. In the main, however, aides seem to be most frequently performing duties which are identical or similar to the duties teachers who work with aides most frequently recommend.

Paraprofessionals work at all levels of the school system from prekindergarten through the junior college. At present, however, they are used in the largest number to assist in elementary schools (*2, 4, 6*).

## Prior Education and Experiences of Paraprofessionals

The New York survey (*6*) showed that the level of educational attainment reached by teacher aides covered a wide range. Among New York teacher aides in 1965, 15 percent had attended—but had not been graduated from—high school, another 53 percent had received a high school diploma, yet another 23 percent had attended —but not been graduated from—college, and the remaining 9 percent had received a college degree. The New England study (*4*) of 1,724 aides showed New England aides in 1967 had completed slightly more years of education than reported by New York aides in 1965. Only about 5 percent of the New England aides had attended—but had not been graduated from—high school while considerably more than 10 percent held college degrees.

The New England study also showed that aides working in secondary schools tended to have completed more years of education than aides working in elementary schools. A comparison of educational attainment between aides working in elementary schools and aides working in secondary schools shows:

—5 percent of the elementary school aides against 1 percent of the secondary school aides have attended—but not been graduated from—high school;

—26 percent of the elementary school aides against 33 percent of the secondary school aides have completed from one to three years of college;

—10 percent of the elementary school aides against 28 percent of the secondary school aides hold a college degree.

Data from both the New York and New England studies seem to point up three things about the number of years of education completed by paraprofessionals: a) relatively few paid paraprofessionals have attended—but not been graduated from—high school; b) the vast majority of paid paraprofessionals have received, at least, a high school diploma; and c) a large number of paid paraprofessionals have completed at least some college education.

While the level of educational attainment reached by paraprofessionals varies considerably, their backgrounds tend to be alike in other respects. Most teacher aides are married women, and many of them have raised children of their own. Most of these women working as subprofessionals have had some prior experience in working with children outside their own home as a cub scout den mother, a Sunday school teacher, or a leader of any of a number of different youth groups.

In some particular programs—such as those funded by ESEA, Title I—large numbers of teacher aides live, or have lived, in the same neighborhood as the children in the program.

The prior training and experiences of paraprofessionals are particularly interesting when balanced by what school administrators believe are desirable requirements for their employment. As a part of the New England study (*4*), responses were tabulated from 230 school superintendents concerning what they believed were desirable requirements for employment as an aide. These superintendents categorized each of nine characteristics of aides as required, desired, or does not apply. The nine characteristics they were asked to rate were:

1. secondary school attendance
2. graduation from secondary school
3. post secondary school study
4. a college degree

5. clerical skills
6. successful experiences in working with children
7. parent of a school age child
8. ability to assist with instruction
9. ability to teach one or more classes

In response, more than half of the superintendents marked three of the nine characteristics as either "required" or "desirable" for employment as an aide. These three characteristics were a) graduation from secondary school, b) post secondary school study, and c) successful experience working with children. In addition, more than half of the superintendents indicated that clerical skills were at least desired if the aide was to work primarily as an educational materials assistant or as a clerical worker. While most superintendents did not mark clerical skills as a desirable requirement for aides working as an instructional assistant, more than half of them checked "ability to assist with instruction" and "a college degree" for an instructional aide. It seems significant that only about one quarter of these superintendents checked "parent of a school age child" as either "required" or "desirable."

Most of this group of New England school administrators seemed to believe that the number of years of education a prospective aide had completed and his prior successful experience working with children were most important for a teacher aide no matter what he was asked to do in school. They also seemed to feel that clerical skill was an important prerequisite for aides serving as clerical workers or educational materials assistants and that aides serving as instructional assistants needed a prerequisite ability to assist with instruction.

## Inservice Education of Paraprofessionals

Despite the fact that a few schools operate comparatively full and thorough inservice training programs for paraprofessionals, in most instances such programs are meager. They center largely around a few days of orientation for aides before they begain working in a school. After an aide begins working, the inservice education program in most schools becomes quite thin and widely spaced.

The Florida study of teacher aides (*2*) indicates that, in 1966, about one half of the counties that employed teacher aides required no special training for aides and that one half had no inservice training programs. Only about one quarter of the Florida counties using aides in 1966 provided training for aides through inservice meetings and workshops. The NEA report (*3*) paints only a slightly brighter picture for 1967. The NEA found that teacher-aide training most often took the form of conferences between the aide and his supervisor, although it might take the form of preschool institutes or inservice workshops. Less than half of the school systems using aides had developed written materials for use with aides.

An exception to the meager inservice education programs available to most paraprofessionals is one sponsored by the University of Maine under grants from the National Defense Education Act and the Office of Economic Opportunity. This program included teachers, pupils, and prospective teacher aides. During June the prospective aides and the children live together in a camp. Their weeks together are basically unstructured and informal although emphasis is placed on getting to know and enjoy one another, and some introduction is presented to give the aides an idea of what school might be like. During July and part of August, teachers join the pupils and prospective aides. Then, classes are held for teachers, pupils, and prospective aides. During these weeks the future aide has further experiences in working with children, first experiences in working with teachers, and opportunities to brush up on her own education and learn some of the skills she will find valuable as a teacher aide.

Of course, most local schools cannot expect to fund an orientation program as expensive as that sponsored by the University of Maine, but other opportunities are available for inservice education for their teachers and teacher aides. A school system might combine with neighboring school systems to provide a comprehensive inservice education program it cannot support on its own. A school might subscribe to an extension-service, inservice education program for teachers and teacher aides (*7*). Whatever form the program finally takes, two factors are essential: a) the teachers who will work with the aides should be included in the inservice program sometimes as instructors and other times as fellow students; and b) the inservice education program should include both adequate orientation before the aide starts working *and* effective continuing, supportive education after the aide has started work.

## Salaries Paid Paraprofessionals

Some paraprofessionals are paid by the hour. Others are paid by the day or week. Still others are paid an annual salary. (No mention has been made in this report about adult volunteers and student tutors who are also, in a certain sense, paraprofessionals but who often donate their services or work for very little money and who present special challenges.) When an aide works as a part-time school staff member, he is often paid an hourly or daily rate for his services. However, when the aide's services become full-time assistance to the schools, there is a tendency to pay him an annual salary.

Administrators frequently say that an aide's rate of pay is based, or should be based, on the kind of services he performs for the school. Aides are paid widely varying amounts for their services. In 1966, Florida aides received between $1.00 and $1.50 per hour for their services (*2*). In 1965, the median category for an aide's hourly pay in New York was from $1.59 to $2.56 per hour (*6*). In 129 systems throughout the United States that reported hourly rates for the 1965-1966 school year, rates ranged from $1.25 to $3.15 per hour and averaged $1.83 per hour (*3*). Among 230 school systems in the six New England states in 1967, 78 percent paid aides less than substitute teachers, 10 percent paid aides the same as substitute teachers, and 7 percent paid aides more than substitute teachers (*4*).

It is difficult to find evidence of the extent to which paraprofessionals share in the fringe benefits available to other staff members. It is believed, however, that many of the teachers aides are not yet given an opportunity to participate fully in the insurance plans, pension system, credit union, annuity programs, personal and sick leave, and school visitation days available to other school staff members in their district.

As more paraprofessionals become full-time, permanent members of school staffs, schools may find it necessary to do two things to hold the teacher aides. First, systems probably will find it necessary to increase an aide's salary in annual steps as she becomes more experienced. Second, systems will find it desirable to include aides in sharing the fringe benefits available to other members of the school staff.

## Certification of Paraprofessionals

Up to this time, most state education agencies do not certify paraprofessionals. However, most have issued some sort of statement concerning the role paraprofessionals play as school staff members. Generally, these state education agency statements make one or more of these four points:

1. Paraprofessionals may perform noninstructional duties.
2. Paraprofessionals are generally not certifiable as teachers.
3. Paraprofessionals *assist* certificated personnel; they *do not replace* them.
4. Paraprofessionals relieve certificated personnel of some of their nonprofessional duties so that pupils are provided better learning situations.

As paraprofessionals become more numerous and permanent members of school staffs, without a doubt, there will be added pressure on state agencies to certify them. For the present, however, many people see real benefits in present practice. This new member of the educational family is still proving himself. He is still finding his most effective role in the schools. *Some* will be able to do very well *some* of the jobs others can not do. Thus, keeping the paraprofessional's required training, experience, and his role somewhat flexible—within certain broad limits—enables local schools to continue experimenting in new, creative, and more beneficial uses of an aide's own, individual talents.

## Challenges of Paraprofessionals

Paraprofessionals present very special challenges to educators and, in particular, to reading educators. Some of these challenges may be more easily met than others, but all must be faced before paraprofessionals in the schools can achieve what their potential use promises. The challenges they present number, at least, seven.

1. *Establishing need for aides.* Too often, schools hire paraprofessionals merely as an inexpensive means of augmenting the existing staff. This practice is regrettable. The role these aides will play is made clear neither to the staff members with whom the aide will work nor to the aide himself. When this condition happens, difficulties usually arise.

The first challenge is for the creation of a detailed, written list of school-program needs which might be filled by a paraprofessional. The school staff, preferably the teachers or other staff members with whom the aide will work, should develop this list. Both the staff members with whom the aide will work and the prospective aide should agree that the aide can perform the duties listed. Then—and only then—the school should hire the aide.

2. *Identifying characteristics sought in aides.* The characteristics sought in prospective paraprofessionals vary considerably from school to school and from job to job. This is probably as it should be. However, sometimes aides are senselessly hired; little regard is paid as to whether they can do all the job requires.

The second challenge is for the creation of job specifications which detail the essential characteristics sought in a prospective aide. These prerequisites should be based on the specific duties listed for a particular job. Certainly they should say something about the required level of previous training; but also, they should say something about other essential previous experiences and skills for successful performance of the identified duties. Most important of all, they should attempt to describe the human qualities sought in a particular aide. Certainly *all* aides must enjoy working with children and be able to work effectively with particular staff members; but, for some, enjoyment in working with parents or ability to work effectively with an instructional team is equally important.

3. *Attracting an increased number of male aides.* Today most paraprofessionals are women. Our schools run the danger of becoming dominated by women. Not all children identify easily with women. The virile male image also needs to be present in the schools.

The third challenge is to devise ways for attracting more men to serve as paraprofessionals. Some duties should be identified as duties that can be particularly well-performed by men, and not just men in the disciplinarian role. Then the school staff should institute an active campaign to attract men to seek out the position.

4. *Defining the instructional role.* Definition of the instructional role has proved to be a knotty problem. In a school situation, just where does instruction leave off and noninstructional work begin? Is a playground an instructional situation? Yes, at times it is. Is drilling a small group of children in listening for initial consonant blends instruction? Yes, in a way it is. Until the instructional role of professionals is more clearly spelled out, there is likely to continue to be confusion on just what is the noninstructional role of nonprofessionals.

The fourth challenge is to reach some agreement on the instructional role of the professional and, in relation to that, the role played by the paraprofessional. It is all well and good to say that the paraprofessional *assists in* but does not *assume* the instructional role of the teacher, but that is not clear enough. Anyone who has ever taught knows that a number of activities in instruction are primarily routine and mechanical. They are not just the peripheral activities—the money collecting and chalkboard erasing—but also include drilling, playing educational games, and reading aloud to children. All of these instructional activities seem important; but once begun, all are more or less routinely implemented. Perhaps the instructional role should emphasize the activities of the professional primarily as the diagnostician, the prescriber, the director, and the evaluator of learning for pupils. Then a clearer role might emerge for the nonprofessional as the implementor who assists the professional in his work.

5. *Providing improved inservice education.* As mentioned previously, inservice education programs for aides and for the teachers who work with aides are generally lacking or are quite superficial. To derive full value from paraprofessionals, action must be taken to remedy this weakness.

The fifth challenge is to provide improved inservice training programs. Such programs should include an orientation program before paraprofessionals start working plus a continuing, supportive program after they have begun their work. Programs should not only involve the aides but also the teachers with whom they work. Sometimes these teachers might serve as instructors in the program but, at times, they would be fellow participants along with aides. As aides become more experienced, they might help plan for their own continuing, inservice education. The programs should provide opportunities for aides to continually develop the understandings, skills, abilities, and appreciations that will help them function effectively on the job.

6. *Assuring competence among aides.* Most state education agencies do not presently certify paraprofessionals for their work. However, positive steps must be taken now by local school staffs to protect children from the occasional paraprofessional who may not work out as planned.

The sixth challenge, then, is to establish criteria and procedures for evaluating the work aides do. Has pupil attendance improved? Are differences noted in pupil classroom behavior? Have pupil attitudes changed toward themselves? toward learning? toward the school? Have changes occurred in pupil academic achievement? These are just a few questions a school staff might ask in the attempt to evaluate and make changes in a school program utilizing paraprofessionals.

7. *Retaining successful aides.* In the near future, the more successful aides will be attracted to the schools where they can be happiest in their work. Successful aides will want to work where they can be most financially secure, where they feel they are needed most, where they feel they stand the best chance of doing their best, and where they feel their best efforts are appreciated.

The seventh, and final, challenge is to create school working conditions that will encourage successful paraprofessionals to want to stay. Certainly full acceptance of an aide by all as an important staff member is crucial. Opportunity to receive raises in salary as experience increases is also essential. Almost as important for retaining successful aides are other work conditions: opportunity to participate in school insurance and pension plans, availability of sick and personal leave days, inclusion in staff social functions, school encouragement to attend professional meetings, staff interest in aides as people, and many others. Successful aides will want to stay on the school staff which offers them the best working conditions.

## Conclusion

Almost every teacher and reading specialist will soon be touched —if he has not already—in some way by one of the newest members of the educational family: the paraprofessional. Many teachers and reading specialists will have the opportunity to work with an aide. As educators concerned with children *first* and with children learning to read *second*, each teacher and reading specialist must meet the challenges to reading presented by the use of paraprofessionals and must contribute his best to the solutions.

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# URBAN CLASSROOM APPLICATIONS

## Beginning Readers for Speakers of Divergent Dialects

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TEACHING CHILDREN to read, write, and cipher has been the chief goal of public school education since it was begun in this country.

It is becoming increasingly more evident that our schools, especially our urban ghetto schools, are failing miserably in their attempt to produce a literate student body. With the increasing frustration of these ghetto youths and the increasing demands for highly trained workers in our technological society, the failure of our schools has become a national crisis.

The question, then, is why are we suddenly unable to educate these children? The first and most obvious response is that we have not suddenly failed to educate these children; if anything, we have suddenly become interested in educating them. The expansion of the concept "education for all" to include large portions of the black community is a relatively new phenomenon. And it is just recently that we are realizing our dismal failure in our initial attempts at universal education in the United States.

But why is it that in our efforts to expand education to a larger sector of the Negro community we have failed?

One immediate answer, an answer quite often articulated by the black militants who want "community control" of their neighborhood schools is simple—"Whitey doesn't want to educate us." This response fits nicely into the oppression model of behavior; the solution to oppression is to remove it—i.e., black power, community control of schools—but it is not sufficient. Political solutions are not educational solutions.

The answer is not so simple. Many white teachers do not go into the schools hating and fearing Negroes, nor do they go in determined to mark time in the classroom so as to keep the black child ignorant. Quite often the white teachers are more accepting of the black, slum children than are the black teachers who sometimes view these children as innately stupid, nasty, and a "bad reflection on the race." Indeed, in general the success of the black teachers is not inordinately higher than that of the white teachers. (Militants may wish to argue that the black teacher is a victim of the system, or that the white power structure prevents her from doing her job, but we shall save that debate for another time.)

The white or black teacher, regardless of his attitudes toward the children, goes into the classroom to ply her trade. When she first enters the classroom, she intends to teach these children in the best way she knows how. Herein lies the problem, "the best way she knows how" has no relevance to the children that she is teaching.

The teacher does as good a job as she knows how to do; she works with curricula and materials which she knows work with other children, and she watches them fail in her classroom. Given this situation, she has several alternatives: 1) to deny they are actually failing (thus, Miss Bowen's Teacher Inventory indicates that her students are at grade level at the end of second grade and then the following fall Miss Smith finds this is not the case at all); 2) to assume that the children are innately uneducable because the tried and true methods haven't worked; 3) to assume that the children can't learn because of their alleged pernicious home environments; or 4) to assume there is something wrong with her method and materials that interferes with the ghetto child's learning to read.

Only alternatives three and four allow for relevant discussion in terms of creating a reading program that will allow ghetto youngsters to learn to read. Alternative three postulates some kind of pathology in the home environment which then interferes with the teacher's attempts to educate the youngster. One of the alleged problems of the home frequently referred to concerns the child's achieving the proper attitude toward school that will allow him to be successful. A great deal of the literature deals with *motivation* as it relates to the child's attitudes toward school and the mother's participation in the child's school experiences. Over and over we find attestations that the child is told simply to mind the teacher (rather than to go to school and learn because learning is fun and exciting—an attitude which many educators seem to think is relevant to school achievement). Although many mothers articulate high goals for their children, these same mothers do not participate in PTA and other school related activities; and thus educators see the mothers as insincere in their goals for their children. Since books are not prevalent around the ghetto home and most members of the ghetto community are not library habitués, many educators assume, ergo, these children are not interested or properly motivated to learn to read! Of course, there is no research to substantiate these assumptions on the part of educators.

I have yet to meet the first or second grader who was not sincerely interested in gaining his teacher's approval. Nor have I met the primary school child who has recognized that reading has no relationship to his life-style and therefore rejects efforts to teach him reading skills. What the children may reject is what the current teaching methods and materials tell him about himself—something very different from rejecting reading per se. By denying the legitimacy of the child's linguistic system, the school currently teaches him that his language and, therefore, he, himself, is no good, inferior, and not behaving in the way a good big boy is supposed to behave. That concept is what the child rejects!

The crux of the reading problems in ghetto school lies in alternative four—*There is something wrong with the present method and materials.* We do not have reading failure in the classic sense. Wiener and Cromer in their article in the *Harvard Educational Review* discussed at some length the difference between a reading problem and a language problem. They stressed the need to determine the relationship between language differences and reading problems since a failure to be explicit about the relationship between reading and previously acquired auditory language often leads to ambiguities as to whether a particular difficulty is a reading problem, language problem, or both.

The question then arises as to what the language differences in the speech of ghetto black children are and what role these differences play in the acquisition of reading skills. The purpose of the present paper is to demonstrate that the dialect of Negro nonstandard children is sufficiently divergent from standard English so as to cause difficulty for children who are attempting to learn to read in a dialect which is not similar to the dialect that they speak. Thus, the reading failure results from what Labov has described as "the ignorance of standard English rules" on the part of the potential readers on the one hand, and "the ignorance of nonstandard English rules on the part of teachers and text writers" on the other hand.

I would first like to illustrate how some of the current reading materials for beginning instruction come into conflict with the rules of the system that the ghetto child uses. A typical beginning reading approach involves many hours spent in auditory discrimination or phonics, where the child is supposed to be able to make the distinction between the various sounds that occur in the language he is learning to read. Many a phonics book spends time having the child learn the difference between /i/ and /ɛ/, a distinction which is not present in the speech of Negro nonstandard speakers when the /i/ or /ɛ/ precedes a nasal sound as in /pin/, which in nonstandard could mean either an instrument with a sharp point that one uses to hem up a dress or an instrument with a sharp point that one uses to write with. Similarly, a good deal of time is spent in phonics books identifying initial, medial, and final sounds; some of these sounds do not occur in nonstandard final position; for example, the /d/ in *hand* is not present in nonstandard /hæn/. These are just a few examples which illustrate the difference between the phonics book and the reality of the child.

However, more prominent differences begin to occur when the child is past initial word recognition and begins to deal with the language of the primer. Here the differences in syntax between the child and the printed page create great problems. Among the prominent syntactic differences are the following: 1) The absence of the copula in the child's speech; thus, we get "Leroy big" while the primer states "Leroy is big." Actually the primer would probably say Susie, or Bobby or some other name that is very infrequent in the black community. 2) The absence of a marker of third person singular; thus we get "Henry see Spot" for "Henry *sees* Spot." 3) A difference in verb agreement so that the child says, "She have a dog" while the primer is likely to say "She *has* a dog." 4) A different rule for the indefinite article, so the child says, "I got a apple," and the primer is likely to say, "I *have* an apple." This is just a small list of the many differences that exist. Of course, there are also some structures that are frequent in the child's language that do not appear in standard English—the *be* form as in *he be busy*—and thus a familiar construction such as this never is presented to the child in his initial attempts at deciphering the printed code.

Because of these differences between the child's system and that of the printed page, it is the contention of this paper that beginning reading materials must be presented in the child's system. First, he must be taught to read, and then he can be taught to read standard English. Shuy has discussed three general principles concerning beginning readers for dialect speakers:

> 1. The grammatical choices should not provide extraneous data . . . the text should help the child by avoiding grammatical forms which are not realized by him in his spoken language.
> 2. The grammatical choices should provide adequate data. In the case of beginning reading materials for nonstandard speakers, grammatical forms which occur in nonstandard but not in standard should be inserted where they appear natural (the *be* in "All the time he be happy," and the *to* in, "Make him to do it," for example).
> 3. The grammatical choices should provide sequentially relevant data. In the case of beginning reading materials for nonstandard speakers, syntactic constructions such as adverbial phrases should be reduced to their derivative nominalized forms where it is natural to do so in the dialect (the *as a janitor* in the sentence, "Samuel's brother is working as a janitor," for example [would be] reduced to "Samuel brother, he a janitor.").

But where is the evidence that linguistic interference is the factor that is preventing these children from learing to read? First, I would like to present the theoretical basis. In 1953, the UNESCO report regarding the role of language in education stated that: "It is axiomatic that the best medium for teaching a child is his mother tongue. Psychologically, it is the system of meaningful signs that in his mind works automatically for expression and understanding. Sociologically, it is a means of identification among the members of the community to which he belongs. Educationally, he learns more quickly through it than through an unfamiliar medium." Since 1953, studies employing the recommendations of the UNESCO report have clearly illustrated the importance of considering the vernacular in teaching reading in the national tongue. This finding has not only been demonstrated when the national tongue and the mother tongue were two differet languages but has also been shown in regard to literacy in a dialect that is different from the one that the child speaks. (See the work done in Sweden by Tore Osterberg.) I submit that the situation with black children in the United States is similar to the literacy problems of India, Africa, Sweden, and Puerto Rico.

Linguistic interference is clearly here; I will present two examples of it, one anecdotal and the other research data. The first has to do with my two children, Jennifer, age 4, and Sharon, age 3, who were playing with Ollie, a 10-year-old Negro nonstandard speaker from Washington, D.C. The girls were putting on plays that Ollie was directing. They had "sold" tickets and my husband and I were the audience for a performance of Jack and Jill. Jennifer was Jill; Sharon was Jack; and Ollie was the producer, director, and narrator. As Ollie intoned "Jack and Jill went up the hill to fetch a pail of water," Jennifer and Sharon proceded up the hallway with an Easter basket serving as their pail. "Jack fell down and broke his crown"—with that line "Jack" did a somersault and then picked up the Easter basket, removed a large preschool crayon and broke it in half—"and Jill came tumbling after." The interference here is obvious—to Ollie, *crown* and *crayon* were homophones, and *crayon* was the word that was more frequent in his vocabulary so he presumed it was the word in the nursery rhyme. Nursery rhymes aren't supposed to make too much sense anyway!

The second example of interference involves a research study in which black third grade students were asked to repeat exactly what they heard on a tape when sentences in standard and Negro nonstandard English were presented to them. When the child heard a sentence such as *I don't know if I can go to the movies,* he responded in nonstandard *I don't know can I go to the movies;* however, when presented the nonstandard sentence *That girl she don't have no clothes to wear,* the child responded with *That girl she don't have no clothes to wear.* On the other hand, white, standard English speaking children when presented with the same task performed the same way; but instead of translating the standard into nonstandard, they translated the nonstandard into standard so that in response to *I don't know can I go,* the white child responded with *I don't know if I can go.* Clearly, the child's own system was competing with the "foreign" system that was being presented.

But one might ask, why doesn't more of that interference show up on oral reading performance? Probably the most obvious answer is that in order to test a child in oral reading he has to have attained a reading proficiency which precludes many of the children we are talking about—the nonreaders. Or, one has to test a child who by the third grade has finally attained some proficiency with primer material. The best way to determine the extent of the interference factor is to teach the child to read initially in his dialect.

The work of the Craft project in New York clearly indicated that by the third grade, the time when the grammar in the texts really begins to be complex, children who were presented initial reading materials in the experience chart manner—i.e., the child's own language and grammatical system—were significantly better readers than the children who had been given the basal readers.

Because of the divergence between the standard basal readers and the child's language, dialect-based texts should be used as the first readers for Negro nonstandard speakers. These texts should represent the grammar of the child. The orthography of these texts should be in standard English orthography, since standard English orthography fits equally well (or equally poorly) standard or Negro nonstandard speech.

The use of dialect-based texts allows the child to learn to read something with which he is already familiar. In addition, the advantage of the dialect text over the experience chart, or as the next step, is that 1) vocabulary can be controlled; 2) one doesn't have to rely upon the teacher's knowledge of the dialect (which is necessary or else she is liable to "fill in" on the experience chart—i.e., she hears "John, he run after Mary" as "John runs after Mary"); and 3) transition texts may be provided that move from nonstandard English into standard English so that the child may learn the rules as he proceeds.

# Teaching Beginning Reading to Disadvantaged Children from Pictures Children Draw

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THIS IS THE STORY of an experiment which was undertaken to improve the reading performance of children in the ghetto schools of the District of Columbia during the years 1966 to 1969.

The experiment was somewhat unusual in that it was initiated by an art teacher rather than a reading teacher. It was started because the art teacher could not understand why lower grade ghetto children, who drew as easily and as well as the lower grade children in the fancy middle-class schools, had so much more difficulty in learning how to read. Drawing at this level required the ability to organize thought in a logical and orderly manner; the same skill that is necessary for reading or, as a minimum, for reading readiness. Therefore, theoretically, one child who indicated reading readiness by demonstrating an advanced concept in drawing should have been able to read at approximately the same time as another demonstrating the very same concepts in his drawings. Yet, something was blocking the development of such reading readiness in the ghetto child. How could it be overcome?

To understand the relationship between children's art and reading readiness, which first pointed up the problem, it is necessary to review briefly the stages in the development of children's drawing.

## Stages of Development in Children's Art: Scribbles to Symbols

From the age of two on, a child starts to scribble. Scribbling is no more than a muscular exercise until the moment when the child learns that he can control his scribbles. But sometime after that, his picture will suddenly appear like a confetti of geometric shapes endlessly repeated all over the paper. This ability to repeat a shape gives the child the sense of mastering a situation and contributes immeasurably to a feeling of personal power. Later, the child will assemble these geometric circles, rectangles, and squares into aggregates of recognizable forms. To the circle, which is now the sun, the child adds rays. The sun, in turn, will be transformed into a face, and the rays to feet and then into arms, and an identifiable person will emerge. By using similar combinations, the child will arrive at plants and objects until eventually the child will establish fixed patterns for each concept. Early in this symbolic stage, the child starts to name his symbols. This is the first indication to the adult that the child understands there is a relationship between his marks on a surface and his thoughts.

At this stage of conceptualization, however, these drawn objects float on the paper, unrelated spatially to one another. A tree may be drawn above a person; a car may be upside down with the steering wheel outside of it. In themselves the concepts are complete, but they are disembodied and bear no relationship to their environment.

### The Development of the Groundline—Skyline Concept

The next developmental stage is the most significant for reading readiness. In this stage, the child discovers he is part of the external world, and he establishes symbols to represent it. He starts his pictures with a horizontal blue sky above and a horizontal ground across the bottom of the page (or he uses the lower edge of the paper to indicate the ground). On it stand people, plants, animals, and objects, all lined up in a row, upright, and perpendicular to the ground. The yellow sun appears in correct relation to the sky. This is the stage when chimneys slant precariously, but logically, because the oblique line of the roof is now a ground line for the chimney.

The age at which the child arrives at the skyline-groundline stage (or standline, as some investigators have called it) may well represent the "horizontality" needed for reading. This stage indicates the child is now able to place objects in proper spatial relationships. In reading, this same feeling for spatial relationships is especially necessary to arrange letters to form a word symbol.

A teacher who attempts to transmit concepts of letter and word relationships before the child shows evidence of seeing relationships in his drawn images is wasting her time and may also threaten the child's self-confidence.

It is scientifically established that the majority of children go through these stages of artistic development with evolutionary regularity. Some children will arrive at a given stage sooner than others. (The child who has been deprived of picture-making opportunities will take significantly more time before arriving at good object-space relationships; but, frequently, compensatory artistic activities will remedy this gap.)

## Procedures

Initially, the art teacher attempted to bridge the gap between drawing and reading readiness by using an experience approach. This effort consisted of a painting experience, with children dictating their stories followed by a readback. This technique was useful as a remedial technique but did not build an initial core vocabulary.

A slightly better result was achieved when the children were shifted from paint to crayons, and the dictated story was reduced to a single sentence written directly on the bottom of the child's paper. By shifting to crayons, a simpler and more controllable medium, the imagery and ideas on the pictures increased; but there was still no development of an initial sight vocabulary.

## The Picture-Word Technique of the Experiment

Dramatic results were obtained, however, when single words were written directly on the child's crayon drawing, as close as possible to the object which the child had not only drawn but named. For example, the child was told, "Here is your picture for tree," and the word "tree" was written as closely as possible to the child's image of a tree. The children greedily requested more and more words, and words were given for each drawn object requested. Not only did the children read the words back, but they also drew the words or "word pictures" as they called them.

By juxtaposing the words directly on the picture only one new element was introduced into a thoroughly familiar situation, and as a result the children produced word-pictures as effortlessly as ordinary drawings. What had started as imitation became assimilation after three or four repetitions. For the children this was the moment of insight, the grasping point. As in the Kohler experiment in *The Mentality of Apes,* it was the moment when the ape in the cage suddenly discovers that the stick, whose purpose he had not understood until that moment, can be used outside the cage to move the banana to a point where he can seize it with his hand.

A child cannot draw what he does not know, but when he draws an object the teacher can be sure the child personally understands its use, its function, its name, and its reason for existing. The word is comprehended and relevant to the child's life style; the only thing he doesn't know about it is how it looks as a word.

## The Picture-Word Vocabulary

The same words were constantly requested: sun, sky, tree, grass, house, and bird. This repetition was neither a surprise to the art teacher nor to the participating reading teachers. These environmental features regularly appear with absolute predictability on the majority of drawings and paintings in the lower grades.

These predictables appear regardless of the socioeconomic background of the child and regardless of color, country, or culture. The child arrives at a picture repertory of conceptual clichés. There is a lollypop tree, a pointy-roofed cabin type house (even though the child may live in a tenement), and there are rigid color concepts: the sky is always blue; the sun always yellow; the grass, an undeviating green; apples are always red; and all people stand in frozen positions. These stereotypes have instant meaning for the child, and if the word is presented next to the picture, it also acquires instant meaning.

## Description of the Platt Preprimers

No commercial preprimers were available using this initial sight vocabulary. Accordingly, 50 handmade primers were made by the art teacher so that an organized reading experiment for 100 children could be started which would use these words. Children's illustrations were used for the illustrations which cut picture interpretation time down to zero.

The Platt preprimer vocabulary starts out using words exclusively from the child's picture and color schema, i.e., blue sky, yellow sun, green grass, and red apples. Gradually, additional vocabulary derived from the Dolch list is introduced with preference given to rhyming words, until by the end of Book 3, the child has a total vocabulary of 230 words, all the vocabulary required to plug into the first readers of the four major basal reading programs.

## Results

In the test school, which is located in the heart of a low-income housing project in downtown Washington, D. C., reading readiness time was greatly reduced even for some children who had not been to kindergarten. Readiness consisted of several weeks of drawing at the seat and at the blackboard, by which time the children had become strongly word-oriented and reading-motivated.

And, reading performance showed statistically significant improvement. By the end of March 1969, all the children who had started in the program in September 1968 were beginning the Ginn or Sheldon basal first readers; and it is expected that before the close of school this June, the children will have completed at least two other parallel first readers being used in the test school. It should be noted that the test school is one in which 20 percent of the children in the control group (the rest of the school) were still in reading readiness as of the end of March 1969, and reading disabilities were running as high as 30 percent. It should also be noted that no teacher's manuals were then available for the preprimers and that the materials were as new to the teachers as to the students.

## Types of Tests Used

At the time this paper was prepared, no standardized tests had been administered. However, the children successfully attacked the following tests designed by the classroom teachers:

1. The child is given a paragraph to read and afterwards answers yes and no questions about the paragraph.
2. The child reads a paragraph and then draws, in an allotted space, what the paragraph has asked him to draw.
3. The child is asked to fill in blanks within a paragraph.

No difficulties are therefore expected with the auditory and visual discrimination skills tested for in the standardized test.

## Implications for Readiness

The inculcation of the understanding that the word was itself only a picture accounted for much of the program's success. This was a technique which was discovered when the traditional art teacher taboos against writing on a child's picture had been broken.

Readiness time was cut to a minimum when the raw material of the child's personal pictures, wherein he creates his own world, were exploited. Traditional readiness methods have not worked well with experientially deprived children and even when they have worked, have consumed an excessive amount of time.

In this experiment, by letting the child use his habitual clues, the learning task becomes easier since the child knows in advance the concepts he will read about before facing the reading task.

In the Platt preprimers, the young reader sees the picture of an apple, thinks "apple," and reads "apple." However, in most of the existing basal readers, the young reader sees a picture of a wagon and thinks "wagon"; but instead of being given the word "wagon" to read, he is given words such as "ride" or "look."

## Implications for Reading Performance

The earliest reading attempts in this program are associated with pleasure. Using a vocabulary derived from the child's images creates beautiful empathy between the reader and the materials to be read; and, if this vocabulary, from the family of children is presented in comfortable bitesized units, successful reading is the result.

Incidentally, these preprimers are completely multi-ethnic, since young children do not color in faces. The coloring of faces is a much later pictorial development because it requires considerable sophistication to accept an overlapping of shapes; the situation which exists if faces are to be colored in.

## Implications for Creative Writing Performance

The oral language the child uses to tell about his picture is the language used in the experimental readers. The creative writing of the children in this program was filled with beautiful imagery, even when all a child did was to itemize the elements within his picture. Existing traditional early-reading materials use a conversational style which is not adaptable to the kind of vocabulary a child needs for creative metaphorical writing.

## Conclusions

When a word is presented as a picture form, or as a linear picture, there is an easy transition from drawing to writing and reading.

The institution of the program resulted in measurable success in improvement of the disadvantaged child's reading performance.

This program requires no special hardware and no teacher retraining. It should also reduce the need for expensive remedial reading programs in the future.

A pilot program using a larger sample was planned for the fall of 1969 in the District of Columbia schools.

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2

# Working with the Urban Disadvantaged: Beginning Reading Project

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THE BEGINNING READING PROJECT entered the first year of operations in New York City public schools with kindergarten level pupils in September 1966. The intent of the project was to examine the effects of various approaches to the teaching of beginning reading to disadvantaged children.

Research was designed to allow for the simultaneous examination of the effects of 1) early (kindergarten), normal (grade one) and late (grade two) introduction of formal reading instruction; 2) compensatory perceptual, language, and concept development programs of one, two, or three years' duration; 3) the meaningfulness of the content, from meaning related to the life of the child (pupil generated or prewritten) through meaning not necessarily related to the child's life or experience, to not necessarily any meaning at all; and 4) the regularity of the phoneme-grapheme relationship in the language code used—from normal, regular, or irregular English spellings, through the use of regular spellings only in traditional orthography, to the use of a regularized alphabet such as i.t.a.

## Issues to Be Examined by the Project

Three major methodological questions were raised related to time of beginning, content relevance, and the sound-spelling relationship. In addition, a series of questions were raised dealing with some of the underlying variables related to success in reading.

### *Major Questions*

1. Does the point at which formal reading instruction is introduced have any effect on later reading achievement?

a. Would varying points of introducing formal reading have different effects on pupils who had and those who had not had previous compensatory programs to develop perceptual, language, and conceptual abilities?

(1) Would such compensatory programs be more or less effective if provided at the nursery, kindergarten, or first grade levels?

(2) Would the cumulative effects of two or three years of compensatory experiences, without formal reading, be more effective than a single year at any of the three levels?

b. Would the introduction of formal beginning reading at kindergarten and grades one or two show differential results at the end of grade three?

(1) Would such results vary with the amount of compensatory learning that the child had had prior to beginning reading?

2. To what extent does the meaningfulness of the content through which reading is taught affect pupil achievement?

a. What would be the relative effectiveness of an approach based entirely (in its initial stages) on decoding, with little or no attention paid to the meaning of the material used, and one which emphasized the meaning of the material and moved from experience to decoding?

b. Would content derived from the pupil's experience (either pupil generated or included in textbooks) show better results than content not particularly related to pupil experience?

c. Would reading comprehension (as against word recognition or decoding) be differentially effected by meaningful and nonmeaningful material?

3. To what extent does regularizing the sound-spelling relationship in the English language facilitate learning to read?

a. Would a reading program which, in its initial stages, utilizes only the regular aspects of the English language be more effective than one which uses some other basis for selecting reading material (frequency lists, pupil experience, basal series) without regard to its phonemic consistency?

b. Would initial teaching through a regularized, relatively in-variant grapheme-phoneme relationship as in i.t.a. prove more effective than the use of standard orthography?

(1) Even if initial learning in an i.t.a. program is greater, would transfer to standard orthography confront the pupils with problems which would erase the advantages of initial success?

(2) To what extent would the early success (if achieved) be reflected in more extensive reading, even if early advantages in decoding or comprehenion were not maintained?

### *Additional Questions Related to Underlying Variables*

4. What is the relationship between the child's perceptual, language, and conceptual development and his success in reading under the several approaches suggested?

a. Which of the perceptual abilities (visual, auditory, tactile) appears to be most crucial in learning to read (decode)?

b. Are deficits in some areas compensated for by strengths in others? Are some deficits more readily overcome than others?

c. Is the pupil's language ability (vocabulary and syntactical structure) related to success in beginning reading? Is there a minimum level of language facility essential to success in reading?

d. Does the pupil's speech (dialect, foreign language accent) interfere with auditory discrimination of standard English speech and with learning to read (decode)?

e. Is any one approach to teaching reading more effective for pupils who show specific patterns of difficulty?

## Structure of the Project

The project is longitudinal in nature; it follows a large sample of pupils from kindergarten through third grade. The majority of pupils can be characterized as disadvantaged, attending schools either within slum and ghetto areas of New York City or on the peripheries of such areas. The initial sample (at the kindergarten level) included approximately 7,000 pupils in some 300 classes. Normal mobility and attrition of classes or whole schools have brought the sample down to some 3,500 pupils in 126 classes at the end of second grade.

### *Kindergarten Phase*

1. The 300 kindergarten classes were unequally divided into nine treatment categories. About one-third of the classes remained in regular kindergarten programs. Another third was involved in a structured program which stressed perceptual, language, and concept development (PLC). The remaining classes were divided among seven reading programs:

a. Basal reader (in traditional orthography with materials relevant to an urban, multi-ethnic population).
b. Language experience—where children created their reading materials from their experiences.
c. Basal reader in i.t.a. (same as in b).
d. Basal reader in i.t.a. with material devised from life situations generally foreign to the children in the project.
e. Basal reader in i.t.a. with material of general children's interest: animals, space, family, etc.
f. Linguistic materials with an emphasis on decoding and no emphasis on meaning of any kind.
g. Linguistic materials dealing with meaningful (though not necessarily relevant) content.

2. The first semester of the kindergarten year was devoted to training the teachers in their specific approaches. The teachers of the "regular" classes attended a series of lecture-discussions dealing with interpersonal and learning problems in their classes. The actual interventions were introduced in February of the kindergarten year.

3. All children were tested on a group reading prognostic battery, both at the beginning and at the end of the kindergarten intervention period (February and June). In addition, a sample of some 1,500 children received individual tests representing an upward or downward extension of the group test material, as indicated by their group test performance.

### *First Grade Phase*

1. All children who had begun formal reading instruction in kindergarten continued in their respective programs in grade one.

Of the children who were in the regular (IP) and the PLC classes in kindergarten, most went into one or another of the reading programs; but some 16 PLC classes and another 16 IP classes went into an advanced PLC program. For most of these children, formal reading instruction was delayed until February or March of their first grade year. At that time, these classes entered one of four reading programs:

a. Basal reader in traditional orthography dealing with relevant material.
b. Language experienced coupled with individualized reading.
c. The i.t.a. series with materials of general pupil interest.
d. Linguistic series with meaningful content.

2. All first grade teachers received their initial training by the project the semester preceding their active involvement in the program and continued to receive additional training during the course of the year.

3. All children were tested on a battery of group and individual reading tests at the end of grade one. The tests were tailored to the specific decoding skills, content, and vocabulary of each of the several reading programs. The tests were designed to tap decoding skills, word recognition, and several aspects of comprehension, including general content, main idea, and sequencing. Each skill was assessed through a separate test.

### *Second Grade Phase*

The second grade represents the final year of project intervention in the schools.

1. During this year, all pupils continued in the reading programs (or their logical extensions) begun earlier.
2. As before, second grade teachers were initially trained during the semester preceding their active involvement in the program and received additional training during their year of participation.
3. At the end of grade two, all children are initially tested on a common battery of tests composed of material drawn from

the several programs. On the basis of their performance on this battery, pupils will either be given a higher level, a more generalized test, or simpler materials more closely related to their own programs.

*Third Grade Phase*

For third grade, schools will make all decisions regarding placement and program for the pupils. The project will enter only at the end of the year to administer a series of assessment instruments.

## Description of Programs

1. *The Perception, Language, and Concept Development Program* (PLC). The PLC program was devised by the project staff as a compensatory program, intended to increase the pupils' functioning along these three dimensions. It was developed on the basis of two assumptions: 1) that disadvantaged children generally perform less well in these areas than do more advantaged children of the same age and 2) that the development of these abilities up to some standard of competence is essential for the mastery of reading. The program emphasized such content as the awareness of the body in space, visual discrimination with emphasis on left-to-right progression, and practice in making fine discrimination among various symbols; auditory perception skills including practice in rhyming and knowledge of beginning sounds; language skills involving sentence patterning, learning to respond in full statements, and vocabulary building. Intensive practice was included on concepts of shape and size, of time and place, and various relational concepts (same-different, in-out, up-down). Literature appreciation skills were also stressed. No one set of published materials was used. Instead, a variety of materials was provided along with structured daily lesson plans and weekly checkouts. The lesson plans detailed procedures and materials to be used and followed in a sequential pattern.

2. *Three i.t.a. programs.* The Initial Teaching Alphabet (i.t.a.) was used with three different methods:

a. The *Early to Read* series (*17*) employs an eclectic approach and stresses all of the components of a language arts program: reading, listening, writing, and speaking. Development of experience charts and writing exercises are included in the self-expression program. The content of this series was considered to be generally interesting to children but neither related or unrelated to the experiential background of urban disadvantaged youngsters. At the very outset of formal reading instruction, emphasis is given to learning the phoneme-grapheme correspondences in i.t.a. According to the authors, the 44 symbols with an almost consistent sound-symbol correspondence reduce the need for repetitions and tight vocabulary control.

b. In order to provide for highly urban-oriented materials, the newly developed Chandler Basal Series (*3*) was transliterated into i.t.a. This program follows the traditional basal methodology—a sight approach.

c. For the material not related to the experiences of urban children, the *Downing Readers* (*7*), published in England, were used. These books resemble in content and illustrations the typical "Dick and Jane" type reader. Since the teacher manuals are not so detailed in instructional procedures as are those of the other two sets of books, techniques for the use of the books were presented at the training sessions.

3. *Two linguistic programs.* The linguistic program was chosen by a large number of school principals participating in the project. The two approaches, Allen and Fries, attempt to simplify the decoding process at the beginning stages of learning to read.

a. The Fries program used the Merrill *Linguistic Readers* (*9*). The names of the letters of the alphabet are taught without relating them to sounds. Two principles of learning are involved in this program: the use of the spelling-pattern approach and minimum contrast in the introduction of new pattern words. No picture clues are provided in the texts because pictures furnish clues to meanings of words which enable pupils to guess at words rather than read them. Comprehension skills are taught along with decoding.

b. The Allen program (*2*) was initially designed for parents who wished to assist their children in prereading and beginning reading skills. This program was adapted for classroom use in the training sessions conducted for teachers. The Allen program differs from the Fries program in that youngsters are taught the sound-symbol relationship of the letters. Picture-object cards reinforce and aid pupils in recalling the initial sounds of the letters. Anagrams and word games assist in mastering the rhyming patterns. Nonsense words are introduced as well as numbers which serve as mnemonic aids for sound-symbol recognition of vowels. The pupils and teachers participate in story reading with the pupils' reading lines including only word patterns which have been taught. Since comprehension skills are not stressed in the beginning stages, this approach is less concerned with "meaning" than the Fries-Merrill approach.

4. *The language experience approach.* The language experience approach (later combined with individualized reading) was enhanced by the use of audiovisual equipment and materials for the recording of the experiences of the pupils. Essentially, the reading materials consisted of stories, based on individual and/or group experiences, which the children dictated to the teachers. The pupils developed a sight vocabulary from reading and rereading the stories composed by the class and/or by individual pupils.

5. *Basal reader with relevant content.* A recently developed multimedia basal series known as the *Chandler-Language Experience Readers* (identical to the ones used in the i.t.a. program described in 2b) was used in a small number of classes. The series includes multiethnic photographs and is cast in an urban environment. Boys play important roles in many of the stories.

## Additions and Modifications in First Grade Programs

### *The* ERE *Program*

The Edison Response Environment approach (ERE) was added to the other programs in grade one. Pupils in two classes at one school received 10 minutes of daily instruction on the machine in addition to classroom instruction either in the perceptual, language, concept program or in a basal reader program. The machine instruction stressed decoding skills. The lessons were based on materials developed by Lassar Gotkin of the Institute of Developmental Studies and emphasized sound-symbol relationships using stories and keyboard and oral responses. The bigram was introduced first as a unitary response and then broken down into parts. Trigrams followed, using the sound of the bigram and adding the last letter—i.e., *sa, m= sam.*

### *First Grade* PLC *Program*

Due to parental and teacher pressures, the original plan for the first grade PLC program had to be modified. First grade teachers have always begun formal reading instruction in grade one, and any change in this procedure met with resistance. Both teachers and parents were afraid that failure to introduce formal reading in grade one would be detrimental for children who were ready to read. To meet these objections, children were screened for reading readiness. In February 1968, the Durkin Readiness Test (*8*), the Murphy-Durrell Readiness Test (*12*), and a newly developed Concepts Test were administered to all pupils in the PLC classes. On the basis of the results, pupils in each class were grouped for instruction. Those who scored above the 50th percentile on the Durkin and Murphy-Durrell began formal instruction in reading. Where there were four or less pupils who qualified, an individual reading program was initiated. Where there were five or more ready pupils, the school decided on the basal program to be followed. Those pupils who were not considered ready were placed either in review or in advanced PLC groups depending on their performances on the concept test.

### *Language Experience Approach*

Individualized reading was incorporated into the language experience-audiovisual program after an adequate sight vocabulary had been developed. *The Little Owl* series (*19*) and the inexpensive Scholastic books were ordered for each classroom library in this program.

## Additional Materials—First and Second Grades

Teachers in the language experience program expressed a need for more structured materials to assist them in teaching some decoding skills. Ginn phonics workbooks and games (*5*), and the Encyclopedia Britannica *Language Experience in Reading* (*1*) provided structured lesson plans for teachers and suitable drill exercises for the pupils.

Classroom library books were purchased for all second grade programs including books in traditional orthography for the i.t.a. classes for the use of pupils who made transfers to t.o. In addition, in the second grade Downing classes pupils who were making the transition to t.o. were provided with the Allyn and Bacon *Sheldon Readers* (*16*). Early to read classes were provided with the Pittman *Growing With Language* series (*18*). Due to the delay in the publication of the Chandler 2-2 books, all Chandler i.t.a. and regular Chandler basal classes were switched to the *Bank Street Readers* (*4*). Since the Allen *Read Along With Me* materials were limited to decoding skills, the Allen-Linguistic classes were given the *Miami Linguistic Readers* (*13*), *Merrill Linguistic Readers* levels 3 to 6, and Holt's *Sounds of Laughter* (*11*). Encoding skills were strengthened by the newly published *Fat Cat Word Book* (*14*) developed by a member of the project staff.

*Test Taking Skills Lessons*

As a result of the experiences of the testers who administered the end of first grade tests, a decision was made to provide a 50 percent sample of the classes with materials intended to improve the pupils' skills in dealing with a test taking situation.

Half of the classes in ecah treatment group were provided with special test taking skill exercises prepared by the project staff. The lessons are intended for pupils who need help in following basic test directions and employ pictures, letters, words, sentences, and paragraphs in a systematic approach. The various formats used in primary reading and achievement tests are included as well as an explanation of simple test language. The materials consist of four units graduated in difficulty, and each unit is accompanied by a test which is to be used both as pre- and post-measure. As a result of these exercises, children should become familiar with test formats, have experience in the selection of a correct response from among several choices, and learn how to indicate their choice by underlining, circling, or marking an x, depending on the test directions.

Children should develop a better understanding of simple test language, including such standard phrases as "Go on to the next page" or "Stop." Pupils are also given practice on what to do about mistakes and what it means to "do the best you can." The fifth unit of the series deals with attitudes toward taking tests and stresses the use to which tests are put in planning a child's educational program. The materials are thus intended to develop self-confidence and poise in a test-taking situation by increasing the pupils skills and giving them some understanding of why tests are important. In no case do the materials include content from existing tests. Furthermore, the emphasis is on the test skills, not on the ability to read the materials. The vocabulary is kept simple and limited.

## Teacher Training, Class Visits, and Observations

### *Teacher Training*

As in all innovation programs, teacher training is essential. Professors Robert Allen, Ann Boehm, Harold Tanyzer, Vivian Windley, Blanche Serwer, and Jane Raph served as consultants to the programs and, together with the project staff assigned to each program, conducted the training sessions. Ten preliminary training sessions were held for kindergarten, first, and second grade teachers, respectively. Monthly follow-up training sessions were conducted after the programs were initiated in each grade. Teachers received $13.50 for attending each two hour session.

### *Classroom Visits*

In order to determine the degree to which each special program was actually carried out by the teachers and to provide assistance where necessary, regular visits were paid to all classrooms by the project staff. Assistance of the following types was offered: group and individual conferences with teachers, demonstrations of techniques and grouping procedures, checks on necessary materials, and discussions with local supervisors. Complete reports of each visit were made to the director in writing. From these reports it will be possible to describe the variable nature of the participating classes as well as to identify salient classroom variables in the analysis of pupil test scores.

In addition to visits for purposes of general assessment and providing assistance, formal observations were made by trained observers using a specially designed observation schedule. Samples of 50 teachers, stratified by program, were observed three times each. The observations were coded and computer analyzed. The instrument, developed by the project staff, records teacher-pupil interaction patterns, as well as the substance dealt with in the course of 20 minutes of a reading lesson. Affective, procedural, and substantive areas were noted for each ten-second interval. General impressions of the teacher, the organization of the classroom, materials available, and the overall climate were also noted by the observers on a check list. Data from the observations and informal staff visit reports will be used in describing and comparing the participating classes and in the analysis of pupil performance.

## Testing Program

### *Kindergarten Tests*

In January 1967 before the kindergarten pupils were actually involved in the several programs, all participating pupils received a group reading prognostic test developed by Shirley Feldman and the project staff. The same test, with the addition of three more difficult subtests, was administered in June 1967. A 20 percent sample of pupils also received individual tests at both testing times. A coding procedure was subsequently developed so that each pupil could be identified by an identification number as well as by sex, school, class, program, and ethnic group membership. All group and individual test scores were tabulated by machine for each class and each program (including means and standard deviation by ethnic and sex subgroups). Three hundred pupils were also retested in October 1967 to determine their degree of "summer forgetting." Differences between PLC and IP pupils on these two subtests also appear to be minimal. On the composite checkout, however, there was a consistent difference favoring the PLC classes. Kindergarten prognostic test scores will be used as covariates in the analyses of first grade results.

### *End of First Grade Testing Program*

The first grade assessment program included a variable number of tests for the several programs. Two tests dealing with basic cognitive abilities which required no reading, a test of relational concepts, and another on following multiple directions were group administered to all participating students. The reading tests as initially planned were developed separately for each program and attempted to develop relatively independent measures of various reading skills—word recognition, decoding, comprehension of ideas, sequencing, etc.

*Development of the Reading Tests.* Each series of tests was developed on the basis of the program consultants' judgments as to the specific skills emphasized and the level of mastery anticipated. Teachers were consulted as to the level of achievement they expected by the end of the school year. Items were written to reflect such judgments, and preliminary forms (considerably longer than would eventually be used) were prepared. In most instances, these were group tests. However, in the case of decoding skills not concerned with comprehension, individual administration was planned. Each test was piloted on a population engaged in the appropriate type of reading program (Linguistic, i.t.a., language experience) with pupils highly similar to those participating in the project.

A total of 35 reading tests (group and individual) was developed. Pilot testing was carried out either in New York City grade classes or in the surrounding area (Philadelphia and Bethlehem, Pennsylvania). On the basis of the piloting, tests were revised to include only those items which at least half of the pilot school pupils could cope with successfully. A reliability check, based on the performance of the pilot school pupils, found that test reliabilities ranged from .93 to .75.

The number and content of tests taken by pupils varied from program to program. For some, only four tests were constructed; in others, as many as nine. This amount depended largely on the number and variety of reading skills considered appropriate for each program. For example, in the linguistic "no meaning" treatment, neither blending nor comprehension tests were included. In the language experience program no decoding skills were measured; rather, the emphasis was on sight vocabulary and comprehension. In the several i.t.a. treatments, various decoding skills as well as comprehension skills were assessed. A common writing sample in response to a standard picture stimulus was required of all pupils.

*Test administration.* All teachers were contacted by letter and informed of the dates on which the tests would be administered. The teachers were asked to administer the first test, relational concepts, and return the unscored booklets directly to the project. All other tests were administered by regular project staff and special testers employed for this purpose. The decision to use testers was prompted by a recognition of the strong personal involvement of the teachers in the reading success of their pupils and the strong possibility that administration of the tests by the teachers would introduce a source of bias into the results. (This assumption was strongly supported by the experience of the testers, who repeatedly had to ask teachers not to help pupils with the tests.) In order to limit possible bias even further, no project staff member was allowed to test in any school following a program which he had supervised. A special coordinator was employed to work out the logistics of the testing program, to check the receipt of all completed tests, and to supervise the appropriate identification of each test booklet. All first grade tests were processed; and tabulations of ranges, means, and standard deviation of raw scores and standard scores (z) by class, by tests, and by program are currently available. Because the tests were program specific, analyses of scores will view intraprogram differences by class, by various pupil subgroups, and by kindergarten program. No cross-program comparisons will be made.

### *First Grade Summer Forgetting Study*

The second summer forgetting study was conducted in the fall of 1968. The purpose of this study was to discover how much of what was apparently learned by the end of grade one was forgotten by the time the pupils entered grade two. This kind of forgetting may well explain the discrepancy between many a first grade teacher's conviction that these same pupils know very little when they enter the second grade. Furthermore, it is important to find out whether some kinds of learning are more readily forgotten than others in the absence of direct teaching. For example, do children who master a sight vocabulary tend to forget more than children who have mastered specific decoding techniques? Or, does the achievement of a given level of mastery in following complex directions hold up better than word recognition or word attack skills. A random selection of classes from each of the programs was made, and four of the end of grade one group tests appropriate for each particular program were administered in November of the second grade year. (The delay in administration was due to the teacher strike.)

### *Preliminary Impressions of the First Grade Testing Program*

Despite the judgment of the consultants and the pilot testing of the material, many children found the tests extremely difficult. This result was particularly true for those tests which required pupils to read short two-or-three line stories (based exclusively on vocabulary to which they had been exposed), to read a question, and to select the correct response. This was a skill which few of the classes had stressed in their teaching, since most of the comprehension exercises in class required oral responses to teacher questions based on something the pupils had read.

### *Two Special First Grade Studies*

As a result of the availability of supplementary funds, two studies were conducted to derive additional data on the pupil population: one involved the administration of a series of tests of intellective skills and the other was a study of environmental process variables.

*The intellective test battery.* A test battery composed of the WISC, selected items from the Wechsler Preschool and Primary Scale of Intelligence (WPPSI), an impulsivity measure (Kagan), and two verbal encoding tests (ITPA) was individually administered by qualified testers to a sample of 913 first grade pupils between the beginning of November 1967 and the end of January 1968. The number tested represented the total number of pupils originally included in the individual sample for the reading prognostic test still in project classes.

Each pupil took the WISC, the Impulsivity Tests, and the verbal encoding. The WPPSI subtests were administered only in those cases where a pupil failed to achieve a score equivalent to an IQ of 100 on a given subtest of the WISC. This procedure presented scoring problems for pupils who had passed their seventh birthday since the WPPSI norms do not go above age seven. In such cases, scaled scores were extrapolated.

In cases where pupils were identified as Spanish speaking by their teachers, the verbal scale of the WISC was administered both in English and in Spanish. In some instances, pupils had the Spanish version first; in others, the English version was given first. Since there is a standard Spanish version of the WISC, there were few problems in its use for these children. However, a few minor changes in words were made to come closer to Puerto Rican Spanish than the standard version does. The WPPSI, however, had not been translated so that a translation had to be made by two bilingual graduate students. The first translated the items (and directions) into Spanish; the second translated the Spanish version back into English. Corrections were made until the retranslation corresponded to the original English version.

Although these test data have been tabulated but not yet analyzed, two rather consistent findings emerged by inspection of the WISC scores of the Spanish speaking pupils: 1) on the average, their scores on the performance scale were considerably higher than on the verbal scale and showed larger and more consistent discrepancies than did the Negro or other pupils; 2) the scores on the verbal items reached about the same level in Spanish as in English. Even on the vocabulary subtest, interlanguage score differences appeared to be small. What was especially interesting was to note that the children knew some words only in English, some only in Spanish, as well as some in both languages, and some in neither. It would appear that their knowledge of words is closely tied to the language context in which they were originally learned, with relatively little self-translation going on. A complete report of the testing study is available on request. When the data have been analyzed, the report will be expanded to include a description of the sample population in terms of the measured aspects of their intellective functioning.

The data from this study will also be related to the pupils' performances on subsequent reading tests.

*Environmental process variable study.* Earlier work by Wolf (*20*) and Dave (*6*) suggested that there is a very high correlation between active family involvement with a child's education and the child's school achievement and intelligence, a correlation far in excess of the ones usually reported between general measures of socioeconomic status and school achievement. However, the original studies were carried out in a relatively heterogeneous population with respect to SES. Would a similar relationship obtain from the study of a relatively homogeneous, low SES population? There were also some questions as to the appropriateness of the existing scales for the study of a first grade population, since the original studies dealt with families of fifth graders.

However, a study using the Wolf-Dave scales had been modified for use with the mothers of first graders in a study of Mexican-American families in the Southwest. The modifications also included special items dealing with the use of Spanish in the home, modifications which made the revised scales particularly appropriate for use with Spanish speaking mothers (*10*).

The study required one and one-half to two hours of home interviews with mothers. It was decided, as far as possible, to match the ethnic group membership of interviewers with interviewees. In all cases, Spanish speaking interviewers visited Spanish speaking mothers. In a few instances, special interviewers had to be found to communicate with recently arrived families from Greece and Italy.

Interviewers were drawn from among professionals in the field, graduate students at Teacher's College and at the Columbia School of Social Work. For the sake of safety as well as greater reliability, in most instances, two interviewers were assigned to each family. The interviewers were trained in asking questions and recording responses. It was the responsibility of each pair to make the contacts, set up appointments, and carry out the interviews from the list given them by the study coordinator.

It was the original intent to interview the families of the pupils who were in the "300 summer forgetting sample" since this section represented the maximum data group. However, only 187 of these families were available, and the remaining 135 families were drawn from the larger sample on whom individual reading prognostic test scores as well as individual cognitive test scores were available. A total of 312 mothers were interviewed.

In addition to asking about relationships with the first grade child, who was the focus of the study, wherever possible mothers were also questioned about an intermediate grade same-sex sibling for whom standardized achievement test data would be available in the school.

All interviews were coded by a group of graduate students who were trained to a relatively high reliability level (.80). The interviews were coded on a 1-9 scale in 33 areas which combined into nine major categories. A full report on the theoretical background and methodology of the study is available on request.

*Parental response to the interviews.* Permission to pursue the interview study was granted by eight of the ten superintendents whose districts are participating in the project. The two who refused permission felt that the interviews might be perceived as degrading to the parents. The actual experience demonstrated a completely different reaction. With one exception, interviewers were welcomed (often served coffee); parents expressed great satisfaction at having an opportunity to talk about their children with an interested listener; and many commented that they had learned a great deal about things they should be doing with children from the interview questions. Fears that parents might be insulted at the offer of a token payment ($5) for their participation were misplaced. The option to donate money to their school PTA was exercised by less than 10 percent of the parents. In general, the response was equally positive in poverty homes as in middle-class homes, among Spanish speaking as among Negro families.

*Analyses of Coded Interviews*

Correlations were calculated between the achievement test scores of older siblings and the process variables. Pupil IQ's and first grade reading test scores will also be corrleated with the process variable scores.

## Major Problems Encountered during Program

A variety of anticipated and unanticipated problems confronted the project in its two and one-half years of operation. Some of these necessitated policy changes in the design of the project; others resulted in the withdrawal of schools or the project's decision to eliminate classes. Many of the lesser problems were successfully handled through staff visits, calls to the school, or other immediate action.

### Patterns of Classroom Organization

Perhaps the most serious problem resulted from the great variability of organizational patterns which were operative in various schools and which cut down the comparability of organizational patterns within programs. As a result of the board of education's decision to lower the pupil-teacher ratio in some first grades to 15 pupils to a teacher and in view of the availability of funds for paraprofessional personnel in some districts, the number of adults per class varied greatly as did the manner in which they worked together and with the children. At one extreme there were classes in which there was a single teacher with 30 or more pupils; at the other extreme were classes of under 30 pupils with two regularly assigned teachers, 2 paraprofessionals, and a student teacher each semester, as well as rotating parent assistants. While in some classes the teaching staff worked cooperatively, allowing for a great deal of small group instruction; in others, the classes were physically split in half (by building a "wall" in a single room, by utilizing two separate rooms, or by splitting sessions) into units of 15 to 20 children and one teacher. There were also situations in which the two teachers divided the day so that only one was actively teaching at any one time.

*Personnel turnover.* Many of the problems which the project confronted in the first grade were related to the changes in the administrative and supervisory personnel of the schools. Of the ten district superintendents who had initially agreed to participate, only five remained. Similarly, there was about a 30 percent turnover of principals. This situation in many ways, required a more difficult adjustment. Programs selected by the original principal were often not to the liking of the new one; or, the new principal was interested in engaging in some programs not related to the project. Not having been involved in making original commitments, many were uninformed of the agreements. Since the project rarely was informed of the change in advance, and usually found out by chance, there was no procedure for orienting new principals. In two cases, the new principals withdrew their schools from the project.

Teacher turnover presented special problems since special training was required. In many instances staff people went into schools to provide individual "instant training." In general, the expectation that, given two teachers in a room, the "old" one would train the "new" one was not met. In a few schools classes were handled by per diem substitutes for as long as a semester and never had a regularly assigned teacher.

*Grouping pupils.* Despite the initial agreement that classes would be maintained heterogeneous and intact through second grade, many principals were placed under parent pressure to group pupils homogeneously in first and second grade. Despite official reminders and informal conversations, some of the participating schools proceeded to group their first grade pupils on the basis of kindergarten teachers' estimates of pupil ability. It is noteworthy that in one such school, individual intelligence tests administered to three complete classes of ostensibly homogeneously grouped pupils found no difference in the range of IQ scores in three classes (range was from below 70 to approximately 115), and mean difference between the highest and lowest class was .8 of one IQ point. This finding has particular significance since it sets the stage for the operation of the self-fulfilling prophecy. Since pupils in the low exponent classes will, indeed, perform better than those in the higher exponent classes (tentative corroboration for this is already forthcoming from the testers now working in the school), the school administration, the teachers, and the parents will be reinforced in their belief that the early judgments of kindergarten teachers are a valid basis on which to make grouping decisions and that ability grouping results in better learning. An examination of the reading test performance of pupils of comparable intelligence within the same program, but in "bright" as against "dull" classes, should shed further light on the effects of early grouping.

*Resistance to delayed formal reading.* As noted earlier, the greatest teacher resistance was encountered in the PLC program. Many teachers placed the blame on parent pressure, and indeed many parents were indignant that their children were not being taught to read. But the teachers themselves felt uncomfortable. Despite the structured lessons, the carefully delineated programs in literature, social studies, oral communication, and comprehension, the teachers missed their basal readers, their stock in trade, and felt that without formal reading instruction, first grade just wasn't first grade. Several schools in the PLC program pulled out of the project. In others, teachers with the tacit approval of their supervisors cheated by engaging in reading instruction using their basal texts. In one school, the supervisor was greatly embarrassed when she discovered that "the cat was out of the bag." She asked not to be dropped from the project and promised that in the future teachers would adhere to the program. This kind of cheating occurred despite the fact that a policy change on the part of the project allowed for reading instruction for pupils found ready on a reading readiness test as early as November and for the introduction of formal reading for all pupils in February-March, rather than in early May as originally planned. Each of the PLC consultants has kept a record of the degree to which each PLC teacher has followed the program. These records will be considered in the analysis of the test data.

### *Strike Problems*

Teachers' strikes at the beginning of both the first and second grade years prevented the schools from operating the full school term of ten months, a situation particularly true in second grade. Teacher changes were noted after the strike in addition to loss of materials during the time schools were maintained by parents. The length of the school day was increased, and a few additional days were added to make up for the loss of time. During the second grade program, pupils were not required to attend the make-up days. The shorter school year will certainly affect pupil growth in reading.

*Mobility of pupils.* Pupil attrition to parochial schools and other districts within the city necessitated the combining of second grade classes or the addition of nonproject pupils to the project classes. Second grade test data will only include pupils who were in the kindergarten or first grade program. About 4,500 pupils remained in the program at the end of grade one.

### *Postscript*

Despite the many problems which the project confronted during the three years, a large number of classes and schools remained in each treatment group. Many of the teachers expressed satisfaction with the new approach which they were using. Some of the participating schools planned to continue the new approaches with new first grade classes and to provide additional work (with project assistance) in the third grade for the pupils who had not made the transition to t.o. in the i.t.a. program. In general, the program has been well received. Hopefully, the teachers will take advantage of the break away from the traditional basal to provide varied reading methods within the classroom to meet the needs of the individual pupils.

While the active intervention phase of the project ended in June 1969, when the pupils completed grade two, the project testing and research group will continue to analyze the data throughout the next year to shed some light on the problems suggested in the original proposal or design.

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# Teaching Reading to Children with Dialect Differences

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BY MEANS of a review of current knowledge and theory, this paper will investigate the question of how children with dialect differences can be taught to read effectively. The review will deal, first, with the contribution of three linguists and, second, with the suggestions of a nonlinguist.

In recent years, linguists have amassed impressive amounts of information which identify and describe the specific characteristics of many of our national dialects. These characteristics have been detailed elsewhere and will not be discussed here. Valuable as these dialect descriptions are, they are of limited significance until and unless they are functionally applied to the teaching-learning process in language and reading development. Therefore, linguists and others are becoming increasingly interested in applying this knowledge of dialects to the language and reading processes. Regarding the teaching of reading, linguists seem to be in general agreement on some points, while on others they have not yet arrived at a consensus.

The areas of general agreement are as follows:

1. Dialect is a deviation or variation from standard language (which escapes definition), not a language deficiency. Certainly a dialect should not be characterized by any teacher as "bad," "wrong," or "unacceptable."

2. Many people have a dialect, but it is only when the dialect marks an individual as a member of an economically or culturally deprived community that it constitutes a social or linguistic difficulty.

3. Dialect differences do interfere with progress in reading. However, the exact nature of the interference has not been deter-

mined. Language is a very personal possession; and when teachers begin to manipulate it in the process of teaching reading, it introduces a threat to the psycho-social stability of those with variant dialects. Whether this threat in the affective domain produces more or less interference than the cognitive task of learning the necessary reading skills is not yet clear.

4. When speaking about teaching language and reading to students with dialect differences, bilingualism is often mentioned synonymously. Although dialectism and bilingualism are similar in many of the problems they present, they are not identical in nature. It is maintained by some linguists (*5*) that dialect problems are more difficult than bilingual problems because it is easier to learn a language that is quite different than to learn one that is quite similar. Many linguists would borrow from the teaching techniques used in bilingual education and in teaching English as a second language, but most would not adopt these techniques wholly. In this paper, the emphasis will be specifically on dialectism.

5. A child must have minimal language proficiency before he can learn to read.

Disagreement among the linguists exists on at least two significant issues. Although they agree that reading must be preceded by minimal language competency, they have not yet decided what constitutes minimal proficiency. Neither is it clear whether the proficiency should be in standard English, in the dialect, or in both. Perhaps the answer to these questions will be determined by the techniques used to teach reading.

A second and more crucial area of disagreement relates to the question of appropriate procedures or methods for teaching reading to children with dialect differences. The procedures suggested by Stewart (*5*), Goodman (*2*), and Loban (*3*) are representative of the current thinking of linguists in connection with this problem.

Stewart's proposed solution to this problem is made quite clear. He says, ". . . the answer is that beginning reading materials should indeed be adapted to the patterns of nonstandard Negro dialect—and to those of any other nonstandard dialect which school children in a particular area may speak, for that matter." He reasons that it will be easier for the child to learn to read if he first becomes proficient in his own dialect and then uses that dialect as the constant for teaching standard dialect grammatical patterns through reading and writing. Of course, Stewart's ultimate goal is to have the learner become proficient in standard dialect language and reading.

Movement from the nonstandard to the standard dialect would occur in stages which combine oral language teaching with reading. Stewart uses one sentence as an example of the possible stages a child might pass through in the movement to standard dialect. In stage 1, the sentence might be, "Charles and Michael, they out playing." No attempt would be made to introduce standard English pronunciations at this stage. In stage 2, the most important grammatical features are introduced, in this case the copula. The sentence now reads, "Charles and Michael, they are out playing." The final stage would bring the sentence into complete conformity with standard dialect. It would then read, "Charles and Michael are out playing." Stewart points out that the actual task would be more difficult than the example and could require a number of stages on steps.

A program that would use the child's dialect as the basis for teaching reading must decide which spelling of that dialect will be used. Four possible orthographies are suggested by Stewart:

1. an autonomous phonemic orthography that spells the words the way they are pronounced or heard;

2. a systematic phonemic orthography that uses spelling that presents all the information necessary to determine changes that could occur in pronunciation when the word is used in different contexts;

3. a literary-dialect orthography which substitutes apostrophes for certain letters to show that a standard English sound was not pronounced, e.g., *ben'* for *bend;* and

4. an unmodified orthography that would spell dialect and standard English the same way.

Stewart would utilize the fourth orthography but with the use of an apostrophe to indicate the omission of a prefix, e.g., *'bout.* Stewart chooses this orthography, for he feels its consistency will make it easier for the child to make the transition from nonstandard to standard dialect.

In support of his theory, Stewart presents a study by Osterberg

(4) who found that when a group of Swedish children were taught basic reading skills in the dialect of their particular district, they increased their proficiency in beginning reading in nonstandard dialect as well as their reading of standard dialect at a later time. When this experimental group began reading in the standard dialect, they actually overtook the control group which read standard dialect from the beginning. (Since this writer did not have access to this study, it is not known if Stewart uses the term "overtook" to mean equaled or to mean surpassed.) In addition, Stewart cites the case of a 12-year-old Negro girl who normally read poorly but who read without difficulty a standard dialect poem which was rewritten in her dialect.

This writer checked the oral reading performance of five third grade Negro boys when they read two paragraphs and twenty-five sentences written in standard English and in their dialect. The dialect materials included grammatical changes (he book is read for his book is red); phonological changes (live for lives); and spelling changes (stow for store). The materials were organized in a random order so that the dialect version was presented first sometimes and last at other times. Errors made by the subjects as they read orally were scored in a manner similar to the one used with the Gray Oral Reading Tests.

Three of the subjects were reading at second grade level, while the other two were reading at the primer level. Therefore, the performances of these two sets were considered separately. When reading the twenty-five dialect sentences, the second level readers averaged 25.33 errors compared with an average of 11.33 errors on the standard sentences. Primer subjects averaged 32.50 errors on the dialect sentences and 16.50 on the standard sentences.

When reading the two paragraphs (containing a total of seventy-six words), the second level readers averaged 23.33 errors on dialect materials and 4.66 errors on the standard paragraphs. The primer level subjects averaged 26.00 and 13.50 errors, respectively, on the dialect and standard passages. Both sets of subjects made at least twice as many errors on the dialect materials as they made on the companion standard forms.

In this brief investigation, there was no attempt to exercise control over important variables; therefore, this work cannot and should not be considered experimental research. For this reason, it would be risky to draw any conclusions or inferences from the data. However, these findings, which appear to be as reliable as those Stewart obtained from his twelve-year-old girl, do emphasize the need for more research before launching into extensive development and use of dialect materials.

Goodman (*2*) rejects Stewart's idea of using materials written in the dialect of the children. He would have children read standard materials but allow them to do so in their own dialect. He agrees with Stewart that the language of the child should be the medium of learning in the early stage, but he would not extend this period to the point of preparing reading materials in nonstandard dialect.

Some of the key features of Goodman's approach are as follows:

1. Literacy is built on the base of the child's existing language.
2. This base must be a solid one. Children must be helped to develop a pride in their language and confidence in their ability to use their language to communicate their ideas and express themselves.
3. In reading instruction, the focus must be on learning to read. No attempt to change the child's language must be permitted to enter into this process or interfere with it.
4. No special materials need to be constructed, but children must be permitted, actually encouraged, to read the way they speak. Experience stories must basically be in their language.
5. Any skill instruction must be based on a careful analysis of their language.
6. Reading materials and reading instruction should draw as much as possible on experiences and settings appropriate to the children. While special dialect based materials are impractical, we may nonetheless need to abandon our notion of universally usable reading texts and use a variety of materials selected for suitability for the particular group of learners.
7. The teacher will speak in her own natural manner and present by example the general language community, but the teacher must learn to understand and accept the children's language. He must study it carefully and become aware of

> the key elements of divergence that are likely to cause difficulty.

The approach advocated by Loban (*3*) is similar to the one expressed by Goodman, but with some distinct variations. The language experience approach would be used in initial reading instruction. The teacher would use as reading material, stories dictated by the children. When the child tells his story in his dialect, if he will, Loban would have the teacher write the story in the dialect the "*first few times*" to emphasize the fact that what one thinks and says can be put into written symbols. Loban did not mention which orthography the teacher should use in writing the story.

After writing "one or two" dialect stories, the teacher would then try to lead the child to see that there is another way to write the story. Should the child resist, he would be allowed to continue writing in his dialect. The teacher is always "exerting a mild pressure toward standard usage, but she is ever ready to relax the pressure if she deems it alienating or upsetting to the child." Loban makes it quite clear that the teacher should never show any disapproval of the child's language, but she should attempt to get him accustomed to the idea of a "school language" and a "home language." Loban would have the teacher use oral-aural dialogues, which focus on the linguistic analysis of major contrasts between the dialect and standard English.

Both Goodman and Loban reflect great respect for the child's initial dialect, but Goodman encourages the use of that language as the medium for learning while Loban appears less willing to persist with the dialect in the learning situation and more anxious to move the child toward "school language." Indeed, of the work of the teacher Loban says, "she does not dawdle; as rapidly as possible she establishes the concept that there are several useful ways of talking." It is also apparent that Loban would use reading as a tool for changing language, a procedure rejected by Goodman.

Before leaving the work of the three linguists, it seems appropriate to make some observations and express a few concerns regarding their theories.

All three have great respect for the child and his particular language. They would all strive to move the child toward standard English usage but at different rates and in different ways. They all skirt the problem of language proficiency before reading instruction by beginning both reading and language teaching in the child's dialect. Apparently, they feel that when dialectically different children enter school, they are sufficiently proficient in their dialect (but not in standard dialect) to successfully participate in reading instruction. This assumption is open to question.

Stewart's program would appear to be dependent on the availability of appropriate materials, while the teaching programs receive more attention in the Goodman and Loban plans. As is so often the case when new approaches to teaching reading are advocated, the linguists have assumed that teachers have, or can and will easily acquire, the skills needed to implement the programs. This erroneous assumption has led to the failure of more than one "good" method of reading instruction.

If dialect materials are to be developed and used as Stewart advocates, much research is required to answer such questions as Which orthography is most effective? What type of content is most desirable? and What must teachers know in order to effectively use the materials? Of course, the prime concern is whether children can learn to read more effectively and efficiently when first taught in their own dialect.

A concern of this writer is how a teacher will use dialect materials in a classroom where children use a variety of dialects. This same question is relevant to the use of original dialect in the language experience approach advocated by Goodman and Loban. The dialect of a child telling a story may not be the same as the dialect of those who read the story, so which dialect will the teacher use when recording the story? The problem would be less complicated if the teacher could work with individual children, but so would all the other problems of classroom teachers.

The list of questions that might be asked about the teaching methods suggested by these linguists could be greatly expanded. Fortunately, linguists, reading specialists, classroom teachers, and others have already raised and are investigating many of these concerns.

At the outset of this paper, it was indicated that a teaching program recommended by a nonlinguist would be presented. This program is offered by Allison Davis (*1*), who is neither a linguist nor a reading specialist. He is a psychologist with an extensive knowledge of disadvantaged youth and their particular educational needs. Davis' techniques are presented for two reasons. First, they are clear, concise, and fairly sequential. Second, they are clearly in contrast with the positions held by the linguists.

Davis reveals his philosophy of education for the disadvantaged, as well as a portion of his suggested teaching procedures, when he states that "the primary emphasis in the kindergarten and the primary grades, therefore, should be placed on the establishment of a strong relationship of trust and mutual acceptance between the teacher and pupil. The first step in education is to train the pupil to like the teacher." When the child likes the teacher, he will soon develop respect for her and whatever she values, including school and learning activities. Having accomplished this goal, the teacher can begin the process of teaching the child to read.

This process begins, according to Davis, by helping the children learn to speak and understand standard oral English so that they may learn to understand the language of the teacher. The teaching of reading must begin with the teaching of English vocabulary and usage if it is to be effective. Davis calls for a deemphasis on reading in the first three grades and for an increased emphasis on "the teaching of speech, which results in a much more rapid learning of both vocabulary and syntax."

Teachers who have struggled with the problems of trying to teach disadvantaged children to read will probably accept the idea of deemphasizing reading instruction in the early grades in favor of language teaching. But few reading specialists or linguists would agree with Davis' plea for teaching of speech if he means this in the sense of speech therapy for developmental speech problems. On the other hand, if speech training is synonymous with language training, that approach would be much more favorably received.

The teaching method Davis recommends for teaching language is basically one of discussion and participation. Through the presentation of many actual and vicarious experiences, children should be stimulated to use oral and written language.

A second aspect of his program to teach dialect-different children to read is one of helping them to think, a process more basic than learning to use language. "The child is in school, first of all, to learn to observe, to perceive; to recognize relationships, differences, and similarities between his observations; and to make inferences which we regard as reasonable." As children use language, they should raise and explore problems and learn the concepts appropriate to the language they use. All activities should contribute to intellectual development as well as language skill.

The differences in Davis' proposed solution to dialect problems in reading and those of the linguists are marked:

1. Davis does not ascribe to the theory of teaching children in their own dialect.

2. The linguists would utilize the nonstandard dialect of the children for beginning reading, rather than waiting for the children to gain the proficiency in standard dialect assumed to be necessary for reading instruction in the standard dialect. Davis is willing to postpone reading, even until the intermediate grades if necessary, to provide time for developing the proficiency in standard English assumed to be necessary for reading instruction.

3. The key to success in Davis' plan is the teacher and her relationship with the children. He even outlines a training program for inservice teachers. The programs suggested by the linguists attend first to materials and/or the actual language skills to be taught.

4. According to the linguists, teachers should never give any indication that the substandard dialect of a child is "bad" or "wrong." Use of the child's own language for early instruction is one way of helping the child feel that his language is acceptable. Davis maintains that if the child likes and respects the teacher, he will accept what the teacher values. Certainly he does not suggest that the teacher call attention to the child's dialect, but he does not feel that early teaching of standard dialect will stigmatize children with dialect differences.

5. Mastery of standard dialect in reading and oral language seems to be the ultimate objective of the linguists' programs. Davis accepts this objective also, but he has another objective which, to him, is even more important: using language and reading instruction as vehicles for stimulating the intellectual development of the child.

Just as was the case with the stands taken by the linguists, there is insufficient research evidence to support or refute the position espoused by Davis.

Reading teachers may feel that because there is no "proven" system for teaching dialectically different children to read, there is no reason to change from their traditional teaching practices. Such a position is indefensible. Reading specialists and linguists, especially the linguists, have discovered and made available a wealth of information that relates to the teaching of reading to dialectically different children. Even though this knowledge has not been organized into a single, unified system, it is available and it is incumbent on inservice teachers to seek it out and use it. It is equally incumbent on college professors to seek out this information and share it with their students who are prospective teachers.

A final word of caution. Programs for teaching reading, such as those suggested here, only set the stage for learning to read. Good programs, appropriate materials, and proper attitudes may make the teaching task easier; but it remains the responsibility of teachers to teach the particular skills a child must learn if he is to read successfully.

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# Some Reservations on the Significance of Dialect in the Acquisition of Reading

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THE POSSSIBILITY that the mismatch between written English and spoken varieties may be a source of reading difficulty from the first grade on has been explored, especially with regard to nonstandard Negro English (*2*). This variety of our language, notable for characteristics which mark it off from both standard and nonstandard white speech across the United States, is notorious for its correlation with low academic achievement. The detailed analysis of the phonology and grammar of this dialect and the specific points where it diverges from standard English has revealed a great many differences which show up with high frequency. The child who learns to read successfully must manage to reconcile the differences between what he ordinarily says and what he reads. Some investigators, impressed with the magnitude of this task for the black child, see it as extra burden that must necessarily slow down his easy acquisition of reading. They, therefore, maintain that linguistic differences not only correlate with low reading achievement but may be one of its principal causes (*3, 11, 13*). Furthermore, they point out that the negative value that many teachers place on nonstandard Negro English may be an additional source of insecurity for the novice reader (*1*).

The list of regular, systematic differences between NNE (nonstandard Negro English) and the standard is a long one (*5, 8*). To give only representative examples that the beginning reader might face, /f/ shows up under certain conditions where (θ) shows up in the standard, as in the word *both;* the past tense marker that is spelled *-ed* is not pronounced, so that there is no distinction made in speech between *look* and *looked;* for standard *There is* (or *There's*) *no girl in here* we hear *It ain't no girl in here,* or *Ain't no girl in here.* But, after all, it is not altogether clear what the significance of such differences, either individually or cumulatively, may be to the entire process of becoming a fluent reader. What is the effect, for instance, of the apparently additional discrepancy between sounds and letters? What is involved in learning the distinction between printed *look* and *looked?* If a reader could identify all the individual words in the sentence *There is no girl in here,* would he fail to understand it? If so, what would be the conditions for learning this particular standard construction and others like it? What would be the effect of various types of frequency or context? How important is the place of the grammatical rule for this construction relative to others in the child's grammar? These sorts of questions are difficult to answer, but they deserve attention if we are to provide any direct evidence for interference in the acquisition of reading as a result of the differences between the child's language and standard English. As it stands now, such evidence with regard to NNE is virtually nil.*

The main question at hand turns on the degree to which the child's spoken language and the written language can differ before the task of learning the language to be read interferes with the task of learning to read. How much discrepancy can there be before immediate comprehension and long term development are seriously impaired? In assessing the problem for the American black child, then, it is not enough to show the contrasts between his speech and the standard speech of his white peers. We must also examine the nature of the written English that he faces from the outset of his task. We must take into account his capacity for learning the other varieties of his language. And we must remind ourselves of all that we know—although it is really very little—about the process of learning to read.

A few thoughts on written language will remind us that in contrasting NNE with standard spoken English, we must not equate the spoken standard with the written. The written standard has a set of traditions all its own, not only in the selection of words but in the way that sentences are constructed and also in what constitutes an acceptable sentence and in the progression of sentences through a text. We would expect that the spoken standard would be more similar to the written standard than would be the nonstandard—even if our norm for the spoken standard is the speech of six-year old illiterates. But as we all know, the texts for beginning readers, limited as they are to a small range of vocabulary, short sentences, and short texts, hardly reflect the complexity of any child's spoken language. There are variations in first grade materials, of course—the *Oh, look* style differing from the *Nan can fan Dan* style in a significant aspect of their rationale. Yet, in spite of the limitations, first grade written English includes sentence types that do not ordinarily appear in speech, such as *Faster and faster went the train* and *Out ran the mouse*. In spoken English, this pattern is largely restricted to use with *here* and *there* in the first position and to the present tense forms of *be, come,* and *go* as verbs, as in *There goes the rocket* and *Here comes the judge*. That is to say, if we wanted to describe the acceleration of a rocket during takeoff, we would not say, *Faster and faster went the rocket*. All in all, the detailed analysis of the differences between NNE and the standard of six-year-olds with respect to grammar and what we hastily call style may fade in comparison to the differences between spoken language and the necessarily reduced language of material prepared for beginners. Every child who faces reading for the first time faces a new variety of his language. It is not at all clear that speakers of NNE are at much greater odds with their primers than are their white agemates.

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* Several attempts have been made to find overt effects of interference by investigating the nature of oral reading errors. Kenneth Goodman (*6*) found that about 10 percent of his sample could be attributed to the effects of differences in pronunciation and grammar, and Yetta Goodman (*7*) noted an even smaller proportion among her subjects. In a sample of 144, we found 10 percent that differed grammatically from the text in the direction of NNE. But as Goodman and his associates have pointed out, these so-called "errors" may not reflect interference so much as fluency. The child who is reading along with understanding may ease into his comfortable dialect.

Nevertheless, speakers of NNE are confronted with different grammatical constructions and pronunciations at the outset of their reading career, and they somehow must relate this variety of English to their own in order to succeed. What is the magnitude of this task? It has been pointed out that the features characteristic of NNE are most consistent among young speakers (*3, 10*) so that children face learning to read when their speech is most different from the standard. But this is also the age when humans still have the capacity to learn new languages and varieties with amazing flexibility (*9*). It has been observed that six-year-olds learning a second language in a new environment often succeed in achieving the proficiency of their playmates within a year. As far as dialect goes, children shift to the dialect norms of their friends in a new community, in spite of their parents' protests. At this stage of their mental development, speakers of NNE are entirely capable of assimilating the standard; and if you listen to first graders, you will hear indications that they do, especially on some special academic occasions. To give one example, the speech of a group of black first graders chatting with a researcher about what they had done that morning, when compared with their oral reading of a familiar story, showed a notable shift from casual to careful style. When they read, the children pronounced almost all occurrences of the words *the, there,* and *then* with standard /đ/ rather than the /d/ that is usual in their casual speech. They carefully articulated consonant blends such as the *-nt* of *don't* and *went* as often as the simplified them to /n/ or nasalization of the vowel.

But in spite of such demonstrations of flexibility, it is a clear fact that young speakers of NNE do not master the standard simply as a result of spending some time in school or of hearing it from the media or elsewhere. The reason for their failure to do so seems to be that the most influential model for the maturing speech of a child is the speech of other children. In the usual first grade in the inner city, other children do not speak standard English. Stewart's observation (*10*) that age grading by speech is particularly striking in the black community may also be important here. So, in spite of the child's capacity to master the teacher's model of the standard, the low value that he holds for that model, perhaps combined with the lack of opportunity for sustained interaction in the standard, prevents him from acquiring standard speech patterns.

But because he fails to use a certain set of standard constructions, a child does not necessarily fail to understand them. The description of the systematic divergences between the standard and NNE has raised few instances where there is danger of outright misunderstanding that would not be clarified by context, at least for adults. It may well be significant for the beginning reader that relative to NNE, the standard language in print is overwritten. Letters occur where sounds do not appear, some of these letters representing inflectional endings that mark the possessive and plural of nouns and the regular past tense of the standard and some others representing forms of the verb *to be.* How the young reader handles these sorts of differences is not at all clear, but it would seem that the student's task of learning to read from overwritten texts is easier than if he has to fill in the details of an unfamiliar grammar as he goes along. When it comes to being able to understand syntactic divergences, such as the differences between *There is no girl here* and *It ain't no girl here,* there is reason to believe that young children can, as part of their capacity for learning languages, make the appropriate correspondence with little effort. Even though we may not actively control other dialects or even languages well, we have all learned to understand varieties of language other than our own, often with a great deal of accuracy despite apparently great differences. First graders are at least as capable of learning to understand a dialect as they are of using it, but, again, we have little specific information about the nature of the process. Clearly, more specific information on the comprehension and learning of the spoken standard language by speakers of NNE would contribute to our attempts to understand their learning to read the written standard.

When it comes to the task of grasping the relationship between spelling patterns and sounds, children who speak NNE may well confront greater discrepancy between their pronunciation of a word and its representation on paper than will their white agemates. Relative to the standard pronunciation, NNE substitutes, e.g., /d/ for /ð/ and /f/ for /θ/ under certain conditions, loses /r/ and /l/ under other conditions, and reduces consonant blends, especially at the ends of words (*8*). As far as the relationship between the standard spoken variety and the written goes, linguists have pointed out that the spelling of English represents the sound system by regularities that are obscured if one simply attempts to match individual segments with individual letters (*12*). Some have even gone so far as to propose on the basis of their intensive analysis of English phonology that, at least as far as the adult language goes, our traditional orthography is as good as any to represent standard English. An analysis of the phonology of NNE relative to our spelling has led to the further suggestion that it is also adequate to represent that variety of our language (*4*), thus demonstrating that our spelling system is specific to no dialect in particular. But in guiding children toward grasping these not very obvious relationships between spelling and sound systems, teachers must start their students off with the relationships which are obvious—the spelling patterns of great generality whose letters can be related to the sound segments of words one to one. The first grade teacher may be concerned that her black students' pronunciation patterns do not obviously parallel their representation in spelling. Here again we should not forget the linguistic flexibility of six-year-olds. Initial practice on sound-letter correspondences involves citing words in isolation. We can trust children, first of all, to shift their pronunciation of words to what we call citation forms, i.e., to take a word like *can,* which is usually pronounced /kIn/ in sentences like *Nan can fan Dan* and pronounce it so that all the words will rhyme. We can further trust them to shift their pronunciation of a word without losing its identity. That is, they can pronounce *told* as /told/, /tol/, or /to/ and accept one as the stylistic variation of the other, saying /told/ when reading off a list but /tol/ or /to/ in the middle of reading or telling an interesting story. It hardly seems necessary, then, to accommodate early lessons in sound-letter correspondences to the pronunciation of the children, because they are capable of making so many accommodations for themselves.

Finally, when it comes to identifying words in discourse, there seems to be no reason to suppose that the influence of preceding grammatical and semantic context is much less for the speaker of NNE than for the standard speaker. The vocabulary of NNE, it has been pointed out (*11*), differs little from the standard. And, although some of the patterns for expressing grammatical "meanings," such as negatives, are certainly distinct, there are many other basic patterns, such as that shown by the structure of the noun phrase, that are almost identical to the standard. Thus, the restrictions on the successive words in a standard sentence are largely shared by speakers of NNE. We would, therefore, expect them to take advantage of the constraints to identify words, as their standard-speaking agemates do.

The differences between NNE and the standard written language appear to be great, until we take into account children's capacity to bridge the differences. We lack specific empirical evidence that knowing only the dialect will interfere with the black child's easy acquisition of reading; but, after all, we also lack specific evidence that it does not cause problems at all. We are far from answering the question: how much can a written language differ from a spoken language before the task of language learning interferes with the task of learning to read?

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# Improving the Meaning Vocabulary of Inner-City Children

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INNER-CITY CHILDREN are those who live in poverty-stricken urban neighborhoods in most United States cities. The majority are Negroes, some of Latin-American background, and a few are members of other ethnic minorities. The family into which these children are born is usually a member of a particular group or class, and the cultural environment is almost always circumscribed by this factor. "Human nature" has been defined as "culture nature"; and since each group or class develops its own culture, these children learn their culture from their identification with the environment. These learnings in a particular culture are strengthened by association with family members and peer relationships. Since there are strong limitations of mobility from this group or class, these children are denied full social participation. They are thus also described as "culturally deprived." Havighurst states that the deprived may fall into four groups: 1) affectional deprivation—the lack of an adequate amount of affection, love, or emotional support; 2) model-person deprivation—the absence of persons in a child's life who are good examples for the child to imitate as he grows up; 3) intellectual deprivation—the lack of a home environment in which books and newspapers are read and where there is little or no discussion of books, politics, music, or similar intellectual activities; and 4) nutritional deprivation—inadequate amounts of food. This definition (*4*) points up that we must consider each one of these children as a whole person, carefully scrutinizing the emotional, social, intellectual, and physical development.

The school is an institution of society and as such reflects the nature of the culture of which it is a part. In the United States the schools are largely dominated by middle-class teachers and administrators. Because of this condition, the culture of the school reflects the controlling ideas, values, and sentiments held by people of this class. The objectives stressed; the subject matter provided through what is believed to embrace the most significant and universal knowledges, skills, and ideas; and the type of problems and activities faced, point to the goals and objectives of middle-class values. Such a limiting curriculum threatens the culturally deprived child and impedes his fullest growth since it violates some basic principles of learning, such as the following: 1) recognition of individual differences, 2) importance of starting with the learner where he is, 3) importance of linking vicarious experiences with first-hand experiencing, 4) importance of motivation in relation to genuine learning, and 5) the need for the learner to share in the planning of curricular experiences. Furthermore, the present curriculum is based upon traditional activities and skills, arbitrarily taken from middle-class culture with emphasis upon the West European culture and languages. Such subject matter does not deal with the kinds of ongoing problems faced by most children coming from culturally deprived homes and communities (*10*).

Strengthening and changing the curriculum to meet the needs of the inner-city child involves participation of both the teacher and the parent. In order to improve the meaning vocabulary of inner-city children, the teacher in the classroom and the parent in the home must take the following steps:

*Talk to the child.* Almost from the day he is born, a child is ready to express himself. At first he will respond by cooing and gurgling. Later he will pick up a few words and sense the rhythm of language. It is the teacher's responsibility to help the child add words to his speaking vocabulary. The more words used naturally in his ordinary conversation, the more words will have meaning for him when he sees them on the printed page. The parent role can be more definitive because there is clearly a lack of sustained interaction with adult members of the family. Few inner-city youngsters regularly eat one meal with one or both parents. They usually eat alone or with brothers and sisters. This practice robs them of one of the important socializing and intellectually stimulating experiences of childhood. According to Bossard and Boll (*1*) the family meal is a focus for a number of important emotional, cultural, and educational experiences. Interaction with significant others in an organized way helps shape the personality and sensitize the participants to each other's needs and inclinations. Organized conversation helps shape vocabulary, influences the development of verbal facility and subtlety, and determines a whole set of complex attitudes and feelings about the use of language. The family meal also serves as an acculturating agency, for in their interaction, the members teach one another and develop a way of seeing themselves and the world in which they live. The family meal has been described as a forum, as a clearing house for information, as a school for life, and as an opportunity to act out deeper personality needs. Such experiences are usually absent in the lives of inner-city children *(6)*.

*Listen to the child.* Children must have many opportunities to express themselves. The teacher should encourage each child to talk about things he has seen or done. The more the child talks, the better he is likely to read. Adults must pay attention when a child is speaking. The parent should listen to the child read but suggest that before he reads aloud, he should read the story to himself to be sure that he knows all the words. This approach makes listening to him read more interesting. Topol, the Israeli actor, blames much of the world conflict on the lack of communication—the technical know-how of talking, listening, doing, thinking, acting, and laughing. Loretan and Umans state that for inner-city children the listening skills now take on more importance because there are more things to listen to and for. In addition, the teacher should remember that listening should be taught in connection with the other language arts—reading, writing, speaking—rather than as an isolated skill, since each is dependent upon the other *(7)*. The Department of School Services and Publications of Wesleyan University *(3)* has classified listening habits into these seven categories:

1. attentive listening—when there is strong interest and great motivation.
2. accurate listening—when listening is encouraged by clear-cut, clearly understood, specific items for which to listen.
3. critical listening—when the pupil thinks as he listens.

4. selective listening—when a pupil listens for statements that please him or suit his purpose and tends to ignore other statements. This kind of listening can have both good or bad results.
5. appreciative listening—when an emotional reaction is appropriate.
6. uncomprehending listening—when a pupil hears but does not comprehend. This type of listening may be traced to a number of causes: poor attention, poor vocabulary, failure to understand concepts, limited experience background, or inadequate listening readiness.
7. marginal listening—when "half listening," the pupil allows his attention to wander and the teacher must pull that attention back repeatedly.

*Read to the child.* Everytime a child is read to, the teacher or parent is building an auditory vocabulary and an appreciation of books and reading. A child who has been read to is usually more anxious to read himself. Reading can become more important while it reinforces the listening skill. After the reading session, oral discussion motivated through skillful questioning can help to sharpen the speaking skill. Adults should remember when making a selection of material to be read that the child's listening and interest levels are above his reading level.

*Help the child to build a vocabulary.* The teacher must teach sequentially the following categories of word recognition skills: word meaning skills, ear training and phonetic analysis skills, word structure skills, and dictionary usage skills. The parent must tell the child the words in the beginning stages. In a later stage, help must be given to work out the word, e.g., looking at and discussing the picture, skipping over the unknown word and reading the rest of the sentence to see whether this suggests a new word, and checking to see whether the word makes "sense" in the sentence. After the basics have been mastered and the pupil moves on through the middle school to be graduated from high school, he may find himself in the same position as Willie Lee Jackson of Watts, California. Jackson, a high school graduate of average learning ability and a black, applied for a routine assemblyline job. After meeting all of the other requirements, he enthusiastically took the written exam—a widely-used personnel test devised in 1942. It is supposed to be a "culture-free" measure of intelligence, but because Jackson did not know the meaning of R.S.V.P. and had trouble with proverbs like "Many a good cow hath a bad calf," he was labeled a hard-core unemployed. Adrian Dove, a sociologist, was at this time working on a special committee on testing trying to locate a "culture-free" intelligence test. He felt that the measurable aspects of intelligence are so interwoven with culture that the only fair way was to devise separate tests for separate cultures. Dove had just finished writing such a test, with a bias in favor of the ghetto dweller, when he found Jackson and gave him the test. Jackson passed it strong, but the white middle-class employers did not. These middle-class whites commented, "if suddenly tomorrow everyone had to pass such a test based on ghetto culture, there would be an outcry from the culturally disadvantaged nonghetto dwellers complaining of discrimination and cultural bias." The charge would be justified. Yet in personnel offices all over the country, many intelligent black applicants are being rejected because they haven't been raised in the white culture. Black has been identified for Negroes as their mind color, and Afro-American is their culture and language. Afro-American is popularly known as *Soul* and is an evolving culture that is indigenous to this land but separate too. *Soul* has been identified as many things—as everything that happens in the black experience, in church, nightclub, or university. It is *unsoulful* to try to define *Soul,* but let us pause and consider words. Language, as noted, is one element of the black man's life that is within control of the black community itself. The Afro-American has a vocabulary all his own. The inner-city child is exposed to this vocabulary and often develops the habit of using it exclusively or mixes it with the patterns learned in school. Every alert teacher should be aware of this habit and should familiarize himself with the words and their meanings (*5*).

*Take the child on trips.* Even a walk in the neighborhood or a short ride on the bus or subway will excite a child's curiosity and stimulate his interest in the world around him. Point out interesting sights and thus give the child new words and meaning for words.

En route be sure to read names, signs, and labels. Involve the child in conversation and discussion. In choosing your own words be sure to include word pictures, synonyms, antonyms, and homonyms. Evoke the five senses.

*Build a reading atmosphere for the child.* In the classroom and at home have books, magazines, and newspapers. Let the child see you reading and encourage him to do the same. Guide the child to better television programs and educational movies. Tune in to thought-provoking programs that share worthwhile information as well as entertainment. Check the newspaper listings for these programs. Be consistent in your selection. Children are imitative. Inner-city homes contain both radio and television sets and utilize both media regularly and frequently. This practice often heightens the lack of sustained interaction among the adult members of the family, but children between the ages of five and thirteen, years crucial for the acquisition of skills and information, may in this manner develop the talents they possess.

*Encourage the child to join the public library.* The teacher should have a class library. She should familiarize the pupils with the school and public libraries. Teach what the library is, what it is used for, and what it contains. Guide the child in his selection of books. Encourage him to progress as he gains confidence from the less difficult to the more difficult. Parents who do not belong to the public library should join with the child.

*Buy and make word games and puzzles for the child.* Games and puzzles help in learning shapes and forms; they aid the child in relating words to things. Anagrams, letter games, scrabble, and lotto also help with spelling and reading. Parents are encouraged to make simple word games by cutting words and pictures from magazines to be matched together. Make word cards for troublesome words, e.g., *was, there, what, went.* Play word games with the child.

*Praise the child.* Remember that learning new words is a difficult task. When a child succeeds, praise him. Don't expect him to know the word when you teach or tell it once or twice or, sometimes, even ten or twenty times. Some children need more repetition than this.

*Give the child responsibilities which he is capable of accepting.*

This procedure allows him to earn recognition and to get real satisfaction from accomplishments. Clark (*2*) states:

> Many children come from darkened slums, neglected by hope, bereft of parents. School teachers are failing to teach them but though these children fail to learn from teachers, they do succeed in learning from each other. In Oakland, at Stonehurst School, a large number of sixth graders are excused from their classes for 45 minutes a day to work with first graders. This involves perhaps more personal attention for the little ones than they have ever had. Their teachers wisely have prescribed no curriculum. Each child, out of his own sensitivity to his partner, seems to work out the right thing to do.

The buddy system could be set up in a classroom with the brighter, more advanced pupils helping those who are underachievers. At home, sibling rivalry can often be circumvented by using this same technique in allowing the older brother or sister to help the younger.

### Implementation and Expansion

Assuming that kindergarteners' learning suffers from early impoverishment in verbal and cognitive experiences, preschool programs for 3- and 4-year-olds are being tested. Richer than the usual nursery school activity, the curriculum aims to develop cognitive and sensory motor skills, auditory and visual perception and discrimination, motor coordination, observation skills, and ability to understand and follow directions. The coordination of verbal experiences and enrichment activities seeks to raise the vocabulary level, the motivation for school achievement, and to enhance the learning-how-to-learn skills. In some instances an accompanying program for mothers promotes home management and child care, as well as understanding of the educational enterprise. As the child grows older, a variety of techniques are employed including experimentation with methods, materials, groupings, and special personnel. New emphasis in elementary, middle, and high schools stresses deepening insights and skills in human relations as a supplement to academic skills. Specific methods appropriate to the program's objectives include role playing, open-ended stories, reporting, interviewing, storytelling, dramatization, and the use of audiovisual aids for human understanding. Special modifications have even been made for potential school dropouts. The work-study program, in which youth are placed and supervised in part-time jobs has proved helpful. Employment experiences are then dovetailed with work-oriented English, social studies, mathematics, and guidance experiences. One of the most recent techniques of developing divergent thinking abilities of inarticulate youngsters indicates a new trend in instructional emphasis. This emphasis is on encouragement of children to think outside the conventional verbal channels and to use intuitive thinking, curiosity, exploration, and guessing rather than memorized rote verbal responses (*9*). In order to improve the meaning vocabulary of inner-city children, teachers and parents must bear in mind that these children thrive on stimulation, motivation, care, interest, and challenging content material. They need constant exposure, not confining enclosure.

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# Secondary Reading in the Inner-City of the Ghetto

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WHY TRY? *We are ghetto kids! We go to inner-city schools! Our teachers have us pigeonholed, but for the most part they have not tried to find out much about us . . . that is, any of the good things, the right things, any of the things that make us the way we are. They say that we have no backgrounds, no experiences; but we live everyday and have survived for fourteen or more years . . . so we have to have had some experiences, and we have to have had some intelligence although neither has served us well in schools—many of us don't even read well. They say that we do not wish to know, cannot understand, what the schools are trying to teach us . . . this may be true, but we need to be able to read; and we do want something out of life. They say that we are problems with a capital* P *. . . well, so are they. We can tell by their actions that they don't trust us, that they are afraid of us and so . . . they must maintain control at any cost; at the cost of our self-respect, through sarcasm, through mishandling, through suspensions; at the cost of our learning by wasting time—wasting time trying to maintain control. . . .*

## The Challenge: Implications for Teachers of Reading

How are teachers of reading going to respond to this clearly stated plea of youth in inner-city ghetto schools? Teaching reading in secondary schools of the ghetto presents both challenge and opportunity to reading professionals, teachers, and advisory and supervisory personnel: challenge to build viable, unified reading programs in inner-city secondary schools and opportunity to guide the inner-city youth toward maturity in reading. Insofar as reading is concerned, this challenge has not yet been met, nor have opportunities to profit from good teaching been realized by many of these youths.

On the other hand, much has been accomplished in terms of describing, categorizing, and further delineating problems, deficiencies, and limitations of inner-city ghetto youth. Volumes have been published and documented at length and in detail concerning those cultural, community, and individual aspects of the lives of these youth said to influence negatively their ability to read and to learn. Even more has been reported, outlining and describing special programs for these youth—summer programs, compensatory programs, remedial programs, on and on ad infinitum. But many of these efforts have not raised effectively the levels of reading competence of ghetto youth. Perhaps other goals have been achieved, but demonstrated competence in reading presents, yet, a challenge to inner-city educational institutions.

Let us bypass discussion of the inner-city youth as a learner; let us not focus upon his culture or his community but let us center our attention upon effective reading instruction for this learner and on some ideas about teaching reading. In passing, however, one must take note of the fact that while there exist common conditions of low economic status with the consequent sociological and psychological life patterns, ghetto populations are comprised of a mélange of minority and/or ethnic groups, each with a separate set of mores, values, and the like. Further, the fact of poorness may not cause various communities within the inner-city to evidence total commonality in life-style. This concept is important because when considering reading instruction for ghetto youth, it seems clear that there will need to be variation and differentiation in particular emphases within a given school reading program—even as separate ghetto schools strive toward the common goal of teaching the youth to read. Some strategies must be devised as means for achieving this common goal. The apparent and not-so-apparent variations among inner-city learners suggest advantages in the use of instructional strategies instead of an indiscriminate use of packaged instructional media or the perennial use of inflexible, single-focus methods and techniques of instruction. The effectiveness of instructional strategies with inner-city youth depends upon a competent reading teacher who can employ, in terms of a given situation, a workable combination of organizational schema, approaches, techniques, and materials to achieve reading objectives which have been clearly defined.

Implications which may be drawn from the ideas expressed here are 1) some of the relatively low achievement in reading among ghetto learners has its genesis in lack of teacher expertise and 2) some degree of mastery in teaching on the part of the reading teacher is not merely desirable in inner-city schools, it is essential.

Historically, problems of staffing inner-city schools have prohibited, by and large, the establishment of a unified, committed group of teachers who could rationally conceive of their roles as teachers in this type of school. Characteristically, teachers in such schools are temporary—substitutes, probationary, and sometimes even rejects from schools in more desirable areas. Typically, more competent personnel seek transfers as early as is practicable; and teacher turnover in these schools rivals that of students. All too often these teachers find themselves consciously or unconsciously diverted from the implementation of objectives, which if achieved, would lead to academic achievement. These diversions stem not only from student behavior but often from administrative dicta and are reflected in teacher behaviors which are directed primarily at "control and discipline" of the student population. It would seem that in such behaviors there is an implicit fear and mistrust of the ghetto learner. What is more desirable, of course, is trust and confidence on the part of the learner which may be engendered through objective, competent, professional guidance of the learner toward behaviors which reflect concern for independence in study and thought as well as concern for knowledge of relevant skills which are immediately useful and applicable. Consequently, the particular direction to be taken in this paper is an approach to the development of instructional skill as a starting point for relating positively to inner-city secondary youth . . . where the energies of teachers need not be devoted to "student control" but where they may be channeled toward mastery in teaching—devising appropriate organizational structures and selecting appropriate activities and materials which will promote development of reading skills among inner-city youth.

## Conceptual Bases for Reading Programs

An adequate understanding of the process, a firm theoretical base in terms of psychological and pedagogical foundations of reading instruction, will serve as an immeasurable aid in developing security and competence among inner-city reading teachers that can be translated to learners in the form of clearly defined achievement goals and related activities. What is involved here? Why is it necessary that teachers be well acquainted with reading as a process? It is difficult to implement a reading program unless there is some agreement among staff as to what "reading" is. It is from this point of reference that the reading program in a given school takes its form. For example, if staff and administrators view the reading process as developmental, energies will be directed at developing an all-school reading program and at securing adequately trained reading teachers in sufficient numbers as determined by a survey of student needs. When a secondary school can describe its population as 60 percent remedial, 15 percent corrective, and 25 percent developmental, there is strong evidence that the reading program should not be supplemental but an integral part of the total curriculum. On the other hand, if the reading process is viewed as essentially mechanical, efforts toward increased reading competence may take the form of a supplemental program and the adoption of instructional media with an orientation toward decoding. When staff responsible for structuring a reading program possesses understanding of the reading process and can reach some agreement as to the conceptual bases upon which the program will be structured, the resultant rationale will, in turn, direct and influence curricular arrangements and instructional objectives for that reading program. It is proposed here that, whatever conceptual base or rationale is operative, the overwhelming incidence of reading disability among inner-city youth demands a reading program wherein reading instruction is offered as a regular part of the standard curriculum. In the schools serving these youth, reading is *not* to be viewed as merely a supplemental, remedial service.

## Instructional Strategies

Let us assume a commitment on the part of the school to establish a reading program, wherein all students will be offered classes in reading at some point early in the high school sequence. We may then assume the assignment of not more than twenty students per class. Let us further assume that in initiating the all-school reading program, that after a reading committee is formed consisting of reading personnel, representatives from each department, and representatives from administration, a survey of student reading abilities is made. This survey makes use of a carefully selected, standardized, silent reading test and then uses randomly selected samples of students to investigate oral reading skills and relevant, nonreading areas where a variety of inventories, questionnaires, cumulative records, and the like are employed. Finally, assuming the existence of reading classes, let us raise the question as to procedures to be used in determining the "skills-base" already possessed by learners in these classes, hence providing a point of departure for devising instructional strategies which might operate effectively among a particular group of learners.

Should an instructional program for secondary level youth be based upon strengths or deficits in learner reading competence or both? For obvious reasons, procedures in the classroom are somewhat less than clinical. However, inherent in this concept of "instructional strategies" is that the teacher devising such strategies must understand what skills the learner shows some acquaintance with and/or mastery of, as well as an understanding of the kinds of reading tasks with which the learner has had no conscious experience. Ultimately it is the teacher of reading who must assume the responsibility for the identification of learners who evidence inhibited development toward maturity in reading, but it is suggested that instruction of these learners should proceed from a recognition of a "skills-bank" possessed by the learner. For example, it is insufficient to say that a student cannot comprehend material of a given level of difficulty. There are less than enough clues in this statement upon which to base clearly defined instructional objectives. Similarly, the issue remains clouded when the determination is made that a learner has not performed well on a given reading vocabulary measure. A more useful and realistic assessment will need to identify the particular combination of reading skills which the learner has applied in performing a reading task at a supposedly comfortable level of complexity. If the combination of skills necessary for successful completion of the reading task is known, then the teacher is in a position to determine if the learner has appropriately selected and applied these skills to the task. Through observation of the response to the task, evidence is provided as to whether instruction is needed for one or more of the reading skills embraced by this "skills-complex."

Surface exploration of these ideas would reveal three essential elements which appear basic to the notion of "instruction strategy." They are 1) task analysis, 2) sensitive observation of reading performances and 3) response analysis.

## Task Analysis

The focus of task analysis is upon immediate subskills, used in combination for reading materials of known levels of complexity for given purposes. This is reading technique. A task analysis involves making a prior determination of the subskills needed by the reader to achieve success. Further, such an analysis will require a determination of expected performance, stated in behavioral terms, for purposes of deciding if none, some, or all of the skills are applied. For example, a task in the vocabulary skills area may require or permit the use of context, or structural analysis, or both in determining the meaning of a word which is probably unfamiliar. Structurally, given a paragraph, where the context is familiar and where the unknown word can be subjected to analysis, how should the learner behave if context is used exclusively? His behavior would depend upon the nature of the contextual clue—use of a synonym, an antonym, a direct definition given, an example made, and so on. How should the learner behave if the word is subjected to structural analysis exclusively? Does he understand the function of certain suffix classes? Is he familiar with the root of the word? If he does not know the root, will he use contextual clues to help with its meaning and then apply knowledge of affixes to yield enough information for the sentence or paragraph to make sense? Similar task analyses can be made of activities planned for instruction of comprehension skills, or word recognition skills, or for comprehensive tasks requiring application of specific skills from each area mentioned. In addition, activities so planned may be structured on easy or difficult material as is appropriate for a particular learner. Modes of presentation will and should vary, dependent upon the nature of the intra-class organization scheme.

When employing instructional strategies through a task analysis approach, the theme is variation and flexibility for both teacher and learner. The learner must be expected to consciously and consistently match his own reading skills to the complex of skills required by the reading material when reading for a given purpose. While true, the reading teacher must possess a solid core of knowledge and understanding of the reading process which will permit presentation of the kinds of activities, appropriately varied, with properly selected materials in terms of level of difficulty and interest of content designed to promote reasonable progress toward competence in reading.

## Observation of Reading Performances

Since criteria behaviors are defined at the point of making the analysis of the reading tasks or skills embraced within a certain activity, observation of the reading performance, or of products of the performance, is made in terms of expectations as set forth. At the same time, it is expected that a trained teacher of reading will be sensitive to reading behaviors which give evidence of strengths or weaknesses in reading skills other than those being specifically observed. The kinds of observation to be made will depend, to an extent, upon the mode of presentation of the stimulus material, but probably more upon the response demanded of the learner. Naturally it is expected that all activities, or stimulus material, will require the learner to read. However, the reading task may follow taped or live auditory presentations, filmed presentations, real events, or combinations of these. Responses may be oral and/or written as direct reactions, or they may become evident only through application to a reading-related task. Some tasks will require that the teacher make on-the-spot observations, thereby immediately responding to certain cues. Other evaluations may be delayed, such as where written responses are checked and evaluated at a later time. Of course, it is expected that notes or records will be maintained for each student, both by teacher and learner.

Probably the master key to the effective use of observation of reading performances for purposes of evaluating reading behaviors is the sensitivity of the reading teacher to significant cues. Such cues are noted while responses are being made or in the evaluation of products resulting directly from the required reading task. This is a second crucial point at which the real responsibility for learning rests with the reading teacher because rarely can the learner himself adequately evaluate his performance so that strengths and weaknesses can be identified and used as the bases for further instruction.

## Response Analysis

Once reading performances have been observed and expected behaviors noted in terms of the tasks given and/or unexpected behaviors taken into account, what is to be done with the information collected? It is suggested that these data be used to make subsequent instructional decisions. Decisions may be made about 1) the adequacy of the total reading performance; 2) skills-strengths which permitted successful completion of the reading tasks; 3) skills-deficits which prohibited adequate completion of reading tasks; 4) whether deficiencies noted can be repaired immediately through special, supplemental activities; or 5) whether deficiencies noted reflect more basic inadequacies, thereby requiring further probing and analysis through further diagnostic-instructional measures. These decisions, once made, are useful for planning flexible, varied instructional programs which focus upon specific skills and subskills to be applied in numerous reading situations and with interest-oriented materials. Finally, through the use of such decisions, tasks of increasing complexity may be introduced to the learner at a pace that is comfortable for the learner, while, at the same time, insuring some degree of success at each endeavor.

For inner-city secondary students, a deliberate skills approach, implemented through diagnostic teaching, should produce marked increase in reading achievement by any standards. Such a program, however, should be initiated and staffed by a department of reading teachers, as well as by special reading personnel who serve in advisory and supervisory capacities. Standardized test results may be employed as gross indications for initial class planning but need not serve as a sole criterion for success in reading. Strategies which lend themselves to ongoing diagnoses through instructional procedures ought to become operative at the point of class formation. In this way instructional objectives for a given student or group of students are clearly defined for both teacher and learner. This definition is essential, for a learner in ghetto situations must be helped to understand what it is he is trying to master. It is imperative that he be kept actively engaged, through planned activities, in seeking his own goals in terms of mastery of reading skills.

Attention has been directed toward learners who populate inner-city schools. This is as it must be; for in order to engage in effective teaching, there must be thorough understanding of the learner, including incisive knowledge of his attributes as well as his shortcomings. School goals must relate to the ghetto community. It is time for the professional educator to take a closer look at the educational institution as it functions in this regard.

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# High School Reading Programs for the Disadvantaged

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THE PRESENT state of knowledge of reading behavior, let alone reading behavior of the disadvantaged, is quite limited, a fact that has been emphasized on numerous occasions by writers in the field of reading. After a critical look at various explanations of reading, for example, Clymer (*1*) concluded that "much remains to be learned about what reading is and how the process functions" and that much of what we need to know about reading "must await further developments in basic and applied research." A conclusion similar to Clymer's was reached recently by the director of research services of Phi Delta Kappa who admitted that initial efforts of a Phi Delta Kappan study of reading instruction were delayed because of a lack of a comprehensive definition of reading. Therefore, before we can discuss meaningfully the reading behavior of the disadvantaged, we, too, must await further developments in reading behavior research.

Nevertheless, we can discuss 1) reading instruction now being provided disadvantaged high school students and 2) the steps to be taken to provide better reading instruction for the disadvantaged in our high schools. Let us look first at this often nebulously defined group, the disadvantaged.

## Who Are the Disadvantaged?

"Who are the disadvantaged?" is a question which seems to demand a multidimensional answer. Psychological, social-psychological, labor-force, adult-role, geographical-ethnic, and socioeconomic explanations have been offered in an attempt to describe the disadvantaged. Havighurst (2) suggests that the disadvantaged have less income than most families, have a rural background, are discriminated against socially and economically, are widely distributed geographically, number as many whites as Negroes, and make up fifteen percent of the population. Furthermore, the children of the disadvantaged supposedly make up twenty percent of the country's population. While such information will provide the high school staff with a gross indication of who the disadvantaged are, other specific dimensions of the disadvantaged are provided by other writers.

Martin Deutsch, J. McVicker Hunt, and Ben Bloom have looked at the disadvantaged from a psychological point of view. Research reviewed by Deutsch and Hunt revealed that many school children are mentally retarded because of preschool family environment. Deutsch found that low-socioeconomic-status children are behind middle-class children in first grade and then fall further behind as they grow older, displaying, as it were, what Deutsch calls a *cumulative deficit.* Bloom, on the other hand, suggests that disadvantaged high school age students are those who have lost twenty IQ points because of a nonstimulating preschool environment (e.g. few or no books, trips, conversations, or educational toys). A social-psychological study (2) implies that person-oriented families—not parental background, or ethnic origin, or place of residence—spell the difference between what we might call advantaged and disadvantaged language facility.

Further gross definitions of the disadvantaged high school student may be provided when we consider parental labor-force orientation, geographical-ethnic description, and the adult-role the student is acquiring; but these descriptions seem to be of little value to high school teachers and administrators who wish to provide effective reading instruction for all students, including those who fall under the rubric *disadvantaged.* Until research provides further insights into the many developmental and sociocultural variables that influence the disadvantaged high school student, we might best spend our efforts identifying and remedying individual student deficits.

## Existing Programs for the Disadvantaged

While there are some innovative and experimental high school reading programs for the disadvantaged, present public high school reading programs for the disadvantaged are, by and large, dismal failures. Failure of these programs was documented recently by a special task force of the National Council of Teachers of English in a study of fifty-four separate programs for the disadvantaged in secondary schools. The NCTE task force found and reported the widespread and ridiculous practice of teaching formal grammar to students who are several years behind in reading ability and the distressing situation in which content area books match neither the student's reading level nor interest level.

The need for providing a design for, or an approach to, changing the present situation was suggested by Smiley (*4*:35-61). She showed that most studies of deficit reading, and other deficit language behavior of the disadvantaged, simply describe the deficits; i.e., they are *descriptive* in nature. On the other hand, few studies cite causes of the deficits that are *explanatory* in nature; and only a very few studies are *experimental* in nature and designed to alleviate the deficits which have been described.

Since so few high schools throughout the country today are providing adequate reading programs for students who can be described in any way as disadvantaged, practically every high school staff could work together to design reading programs which would more nearly meet the needs of all members of the student body, including those students who by definition fall in the category "disadvantaged." Surely many of us have creative and practical ideas to improve reading instruction for the disadvantaged student in our schools but never are able to find enough of the teacher's, principal's or superintendent's time to "tell it like it is" when teaching the disadvantaged or, perhaps, to "tell the way I get those kids to read books." I am afraid that most of our creative suggestions concerning reading programs for the disadvantaged are either never verbalized or are verbalized and then forgotten. My suggestion is to *write it; present it;* then, *say it* and to *keep saying it* until changes are forthcoming. When "telling it like it is," the individual interested in implementing a meaningful high school reading program for the disadvantaged should provide detailed information for each of the following areas: 1) the high school situation, 2) a philosophy of reading, 3) a testing program, 4) instructional materials, 5) school and classroom organization for instruction, 6) skill sequence, 7) methods of instruction, 8) content area reading, 9) implementation of the program, and 10) evaluation of the ongoing reading program. Following are the areas to be included in the reading program proposal as well as some considerations one may wish to make when developing and proposing a program of this type.

## The High School Situation

Since high schools may differ greatly from community to community, the individuals in charge of developing the high school reading program should provide a detailed description of the peculiar aspects of the high school in which the reading program is to be established. The description should include the number and type of personnel—teachers, supervisors, administrators; curricular offerings; organization for instruction; number of pupils at each grade level; socioeconomic background of pupils; and achievement level of pupils. In addition, there should be a description of the instructional materials on hand, the readability and interest levels of the reading materials, utilization of instructional materials, methods of instruction, stated instructional objectives, and the overall philosophy of the school.

Providing a detailed description of the high school situation as outlined above will help the school staff pinpoint major strengths and weaknesses of the reading program. A quick perusal of the description could reveal that instructional methods and materials are illsuited to the stated objectives and philosophy of the school, or perhaps that content area reading material is far beyond the reading level of even the best reader in the class. Whatever the description of the high school situation reveals, the first major step has been taken toward developing and implementing a successful reading program for the disadvantaged.

## A Philosophy of Reading

A stated philosophy of reading instruction is important in any secondary school reading program, but its importance in a reading program for the disadvantaged cannot be overemphasized. While middle- and upper-class students may survive the lockstep, grade level approach to teaching found in most of our high schools, disadvantaged students must be taught in a program which emphasizes the individualization of subject matter at each grade level. Today in most schools, if an eleventh grade student managed to be helped by a teacher to advance from a fourth grade achievement level to a sixth grade achievement level, he would, upon promotion to twelfth grade, probably resume his study in a twelth grade book. In his book, *Reading in the Secondary Schools,* Weiss (*5*:10) states his conception of an effective reading program. A philosophy of reading instruction based on Weiss' five points would be an excellent beginning for a high school reading program for the disadvantaged:

1. Reading instruction must aim at individual students, taking into account their different backgrounds, abilities, and interests.
2. Flexibility of instruction depends upon the availability of a wide range of reading materials of all kinds and on all sorts of subjects. In an effective program much of the initiative passes to the student, and the teacher's role changes to that of a guide, a listener, a resource person, a critic.
3. Reading instruction means paying attention not only to the basic skills of reading but also to the general end which education should serve—the widening of the student's intellectual, emotional, and moral horizons.
4. Reading instruction is completely successful only when the student has acquired the habit of active, continuous reading and can read with ease in all of the subject areas which, by necessity or choice, he faces.
5. The reading program is not the product of one teacher but demands the involvement of the entire faculty and administration in a wholehearted and single-minded concentration on drawing the best possible work out of each student.

## The Testing Program

The testing program should make provisions for the evaluation of basic needs and interests as well as the evaluation of word recognition skills, reading comprehension skills, and study skills. Abraham Maslow's theory of human motivation, in which needs are arranged along a hierarchy of priority or potency, provides a convenient schema for considering the pressing needs of the disadvantaged. Needs, according to Maslow, emerge from the most potent (physiological needs), to the least potent (aesthetic needs); and needs having the greatest potency must be satisfied before those next in potency emerge and press for satisfaction. The need structure developed by Maslow (*3*) includes aesthetic needs, cognitive needs, need for self-actualization, esteem needs, belonging and love needs, safety needs, and physiological needs. What this means to the teacher providing reading instruction is that these needs must be satisfied before attempting to teach reading skills (i.e., satisfy cognitive needs). In other words, before the teacher begins to teach reading, she should attempt to determine whether the student 1) is hungry or tired and if his bodily functions appear normal; 2) feels threatened by his peers, his parents, other adults, or the teacher herself; 3) feels that he is a part of the class and that he is loved by the teacher and his fellow students; 4) feels that he is a worthwhile member of the group of which he is a part and that he is worthwhile just because he is himself; and 5) feels that he is developing his basic human and personal capacities.

Interests of the disadvantaged high school student can be determined by any number of so-called interest inventories available in most reading methods books or by simply asking the student what he is interested in. Interest inventories which require written answers present an embarrassing situation for those students who cannot write. Also, open-ended questions such as, What do you do in your spare time?" should be used rather than questions such as, "How many books do you own?" The second type of question may be revealing if answered truthfully, but the chances of receiving a truthful answer from a defensive, disadvantaged high school student are slim indeed.

Informal reading tests seem to provide more valuable information to the teacher of the disadvantaged high school student than do formal or standardized reading tests. The teacher administering an informal reading test has the opportunity to diagnose the student's needs as well as to determine the specific types of reading deficiencies and possible causes of the deficiencies. In any event, the informal test should be designed to test word recognition skills, comprehension skills, and study skills. While tests such as the Spache Diagnostic Reading Scales can be used to determine word recognition and comprehension skills, informal tests designed by the teachers of disadvantaged students may provide even more meaningful information concerning the student's ability to recognize words, to comprehend what he has read, and to use various study-type reading techniques.

If a formal test is proposed for the reading program, care should be taken so that the range of the test chosen is appropriate for the students taking the test. For example, there would be little value in administering the Nelson-Denny Reading Test for High Schools and Colleges if the reading levels of the students ranged from the first grade to the seventh grade levels. A more appropriate test in this instance would be the Diagnostic Reading Tests which cover a reading level range of ages five to thirteen.

Results of testing each student could be placed on a "student reading level assignment sheet" which would move with the student from class to class and grade level to grade level and which would enable content area teachers to provide reading materials appropriate for the disadvantaged student. Perhaps there would be merit in letting the students themselves determine their own reading ability levels and also the readability levels of the materials they are asked to read. At any rate, each student's "student reading level assignment sheet" would include the following:

1. Name of student
2. Age
3. Grade
4. Date
5. Reading book (or textbook) level used with previous teacher
6. Estimated instructional reading level
7. Informal observations of reading behavior, needs, and interests
8. Word recognition level
9. Oral reading level
10. Comprehension level

11. Listening comprehension level
12. Knowledge of alphabet
13. Knowledge of phonics
14. Name and reading level of book(s) from which the student can profit

## Instructional Materials

Proposing the adoption of reading materials for disadvantaged high school students is no easy task. Many schools must use city or state adopted textbooks which often provide the high school content area teachers a choice of books with only one, two, or perhaps three reading levels. Also, in some instances, a high school may be saddled with one or more influential teacher and administrator who feel that using the one-book approach is a good way to "bring the students up to snuff," or to "make them appreciate literature such as *Silas Marner*" which, they will tell you, the students "really liked." Really liked when read or discussed in class? Yes. *Silas Marner* contains an intriguing plot. Really liked when read by the disadvantaged students themselves? Hardly, when one considers that the readability level (Gunning formula) of *Silas Marner* is above the twelfth grade level, much too difficult for all but the most academically talented disadvantaged students in the school.

How then can a person interested in ordering suitable reading materials for the disadvantaged approach teachers and administrators who remain reticent concerning the addition of materials which suit student interests and reading levels? One possible way is that he should 1) list readability levels of all available reading materials (the levels may be determined by any one of the commonly used readability formulas such as the Gunning, Dale-Chall, or Spache); 2) list the reading levels of the students as determined by either formal or informal reading tests; and 3) present the two lists side by side to those individuals who see little value in using materials which the students are able to read.

The reading materials proposed and ordered, while appropriate for the students' reading and interest levels, also should be representative of the types of reading material the students will use outside the school setting. Reading skills can be taught by using workbooks, kits, labs, and teaching machines. But, too often the reading program for disadvantaged students lacks newspapers, magazines, manuals, films and filmstrips, overhead projection material, and, surprisingly, books—including paperbacks. A brief look at Fader's *Hooked on Books* provides convincing evidence of the feasibility of using paperback books to develop various reading skills of disadvantaged youth.

When reading materials of appropriate reading and interest levels are proposed, sufficient information should be provided for the principal or superintendent so that ordering the materials can be accomplished with utmost ease. In addition to the name of the material, publisher, and publisher's address, one should list the number of items to be ordered, the author, a brief description of the material, the cost per item, and the total cost of all materials. By noting 1) the interest level and readability level of the material, 2) the skills the material is designed to strengthen, and 3) the manner in which the materials are to be utilized, not only is the staff and administration's confidence in the program bolstered but also a guide for the efficient use of the reading material is being provided. Too many worthwhile materials are gathering dust in the schools because teachers lack knowledge of how to use them and, thus, the confidence to give the materials a try.

## Organization for Instruction

Both schoolwide and classroom organization for instruction should develop from an emphasis upon the individual learning program for each student. Instead of practicing the one-book-per-grade-level approach, the schoolwide program should emphasize the continuing progress of the disadvantaged student. If the student begins grade seven reading at the second grade level and then progresses during the year to a fourth grade level, the school should insist that upon promotion to eighth grade his instruction continue at the fourth grade reading level, rather than to require him to make an impossible jump to, say, the eighth grade instructional level.

Within the classroom, such a continuous progress plan may disrupt the deceiving order to which so many teachers and disadvantaged students are accustomed. But through the use of recreational reading, various types of grouping (e.g., project, interest, and research), programed instruction, and other individualized methods and materials, the teacher will be able to find enough time to provide effective small-group and individual instruction to remedy even the most retarded student's reading deficiencies.

### Skill Sequence

Any time the teacher ventures away from using a basic reading series approach there is the danger either of overemphasizing instruction of a reading skill or of failing to provide sufficient instruction in a reading skill. While the use of programed material, such as the SRA Reading Laboratories and the McGraw-Hill, Webster Division, Programed Readers, would provide a comprehensive coverage of word recognition skills, comprehension skills, and study skills, it would be well for each student to keep a checklist of reading skills which the reading program can develop. Programed materials permit students to work on skill development sequentially, but who is to say the sequence is the most logical sequence for, say, Student A, and who is to say the learning steps in the sequence are the most effective for Student B? We may too often be spending the student's time wastefully teaching a sequence of reading skills in a kit or workbook when the skills could easily be acquired by the student himself through thoughtful reading.

### Methods of Instruction

Many basic and higher level reading skills can be acquired by wide reading of a variety of materials, but the teacher of disadvantaged high school students will almost certainly find it necessary to provide basic or beginning reading skill instruction. Word recognition instruction employing a combination of whole word, phonic, linguistic, or experience story approaches should place the primary emphasis upon the language of the student, not the language of the teacher or the textbook. *Whole words* to be learned should come primarily from the student's own storehouse of words. *Phonics* instruction should be both synthetic and analytic, but the emphasis should be placed on the analysis of the sound-symbol relationships in words as pronounced by the student himself. The *linguistic* or word family approach should include only those words which, when pronounced by the student, represent a word family. *Get,* for example, usually is not part of the word family which includes *bet, jet,* and *let. Experience stories* are particularly useful in teaching disadvantaged high school students various basic word recognition skills. It is important, however, to copy the story just as the student relates it and to ignore, for the time being at least, errors in grammar or usage.

Comprehension skills and study skills should be developed both by the instructional material itself and within individual and group discussions of the material read. Inferences and organization, as well as main ideas and important details, should be taught and included in the written proposal.

## Content Area Reading

The disadvantaged high school student is most neglected within the content area classes. In separate corrective and remedial reading classes he is generally provided with suitable materials and methods, but once he returns to the content area class the confidence he has established in his ability to read is soon dissipated. Reading assignments in these classes are made on material the student could not begin to comprehend, either because of insufficient reading skill or because of inadequate conceptual background. Yet the content area teacher continues to test the student on the material assigned and to explain that the student "does not try," "does not do assignments," and "fails tests." Reading materials which match the student's reading level and conceptual level should help eliminate this dilemma.

Also, the proposed reading program should describe an approach to study-type reading in the content area. The approach should include suggestions on how to provide readiness activities so that the student not only is interested in the material but also has an adequate background of experiences to understand the concepts being covered. In addition, suggestions should be made on how to teach meanings of specialized vocabulary, comprehension, preview-skimming, and other study skills relevant to the various content areas.

## Implementing the Program

The reading program for the disadvantaged can be implemented only through the cooperative efforts of the entire high school staff. A reading committee composed of members of the administration as well as representatives of each content area should work together to develop and propose a program which would include descriptive information on each of the ten areas mentioned herein. Within a large high school each content area department could develop a content area reading program elaborating upon each of the ten areas. Then the various content area reading programs could be examined by the reading committee and formed into a schoolwide reading program for the disadvantaged. Of course, the spark necessary to ignite the school's interest in developing a reading program may need to come from one or two dauntless souls who write the program, present the program, and are willing to lose sleep until the program is sold to faculty and administration alike.

## Evaluation of the Program

Any description of the high school situation should be vastly different after the reading program is implemented. While there are numerous checklists to evaluate the schoolwide reading program, a more meaningful evaluation would be provided by comparing the past year's description of the reading program with the current one. A checklist of student behaviors could also be employed to determine whether the students are acquiring the reading skills the program is designed to develop; but, again, the more meaningful evaluation would probably come from periodic written descriptions of the reading program. What better goal could a high school staff attain than to be able to describe a high school reading program of which they are proud?

The following portion of a letter received from a student, who participated in the 1968 NDEA Advanced Reading Institute for the Disadvantaged held at the University of Pittsburgh, illustrates her attainment of that goal. The evaluation of her new reading program was not formal, but the value of the program is obvious.

> A few months ago I received an unannounced visitor from Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, a reviewer for the state's ESEA Title I and Title II programs. I had no time to make additional preparations, for unexpectedly our school superintendent, with a stranger beside him, popped into the room. After a brief introduction, the superintendent went elsewhere in the building, and I was left to be observed with my charges, the most disadvantaged pupils in our school. All that I could think of was that I was on the spot to do my own thing, whether I was ready to or not. I happened to be in a group with five students working in the *New Reader's Digest Skill Builders.* The students responded beautifully, I thought. Then when the visitor browsed around the room, he was surprised at the instructional materials and free reading of magazines and books (high interest-low reading level) which were first introduced in our system by me last fall. The interesting games and workbooks were there as well as *the limited machines* I use. The reviewer was pleased with my answers to his questions. Then, a few days later, when carbon copies of a letter sent to my school administrators from Harrisburg were distributed in a meeting, I could hardly believe that the reading situations described and so highly complimented could have really been mine.

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# Developing Instructional Materials for Disadvantaged Youth

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LIES

Telling lies to the young is wrong.

will not forgive in us what we forgave.

*—Yevgeny Yevtushenko**

The poem you just read appears in a new series of junior high school paperback books and records designed for the disadvantaged reader. This series, *Crossroads,* is predicated upon several profound beliefs we hold about children and about what our schools should be like. One such belief is that if we are to reach our students and motivate them to become effective human beings, then we must speak to them with an honesty and a directness which I do not believe that either the schools or educational publishers have exhibited to date. Indeed research evidence supports the notion that to a very large extent the materials our pupils are forced to use in school are irrelevant (and even untrue) to their perceptions of their environment and of themselves. By and large, we have ignored, both consciously and unconsciously, the student's wealth of personal experience; and thus the link between the world of the classroom and the idiosyncratic world of the youngster's own experience has been missing. To fill this vacuum, the street has often become the teacher.

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* Yevtushenko, Yevgeny. "Lies," *Selected Poems: Yevgeny Yevtushenko.* London: Penguin Books Ltd. Reprinted by permission of Penguin Books.

Let me illustrate this point with a few examples. Seventy-five percent of the people living on the earth are starving. Does a single social studies text even mention this fact? Twenty million people in the United States don't have enough to eat. Is there one educational book, film, filmstrip, audio tape, record, transparency, or loop that even acknowledges the existence of poverty in the United States? Divorce affects one out of four families in this country. The children of those divorced families are in our classrooms. Where is the instructional material that attempts to deal in any way with this prevalent social phenomenon? Our cities are erupting in racial violence. Is there one school book that analyzes the social sicknesses of our cities? There is still segregation in many parts of both the North and the South—where do our books even acknowledge this fact?

These examples could be multiplied indefinitely. By failing to include relevant content in our materials, we reinforce the discontinuity between school and the real world.

Our children bring their life experiences to the classroom—how many of us have been prepared to accept these experiences, much less to use them to help the child grasp ideas and communicate thoughts and feelings?

Alienation, rebellion, and disinterested withdrawal result when what we adults say and do lacks a direct relationship to the psychological and social realities embedded in the minds and feelings of our students.

The publishing industry has readily adapted itself to the institutional artifice of the school. The educational publisher has been traditionally oriented to the large scale textbook adoption states like California and Texas. These and other Southern states have in the past almost completely dominated the thinking of the educational publisher and thereby the materials that he publishes. Above all, the publisher has not wanted to "offend" anyone because such a transgression is punishable by lost sales revenues. How else are we to explain the fact that it is only within the past few years that publishers have been willing to include Negroes and other minority groups in their texts? In the meantime, by excluding nonwhites, we have been, in effect, telling both our white and black children that white is right, that black people don't actually exist or that if they do, they are not important enough for us to put in our materials. In this way, we have done violence to *all* of our children.

This problem has been compounded by the unconscious prejudice that many white publishers have toward minority groups. When most white editors talk about the "Negro subculture," there is a clustering of terms such as "disadvantaged," "ghetto," and "retardation." In other words, the Negro subculture is regarded as basically a pathological phenomenon. Therefore, when that editor gets to including minority groups in his illustrations, he has an enormous problem: Does he represent sickness? How does he depict pathology? And the publisher frantically asks: "Do I show the broken bottles, the refuse in the gutters, the dilapidated buildings? Do I show the Negro as a white man with a black face?" (And we know that some publishers have chosen to go the road of "color me brown.") It never occurs to him that there are many, many clean homes, children who are striving to grow into effective human beings, parents who care very deeply about their youngsters' welfare, family structures such as the extended family which are quite effective in socializing children. Because his own view of low-income life is so distorted, the products he develops must picture the distortion. It is interesting to note that the publisher does not have these problems when he illustrates himself. We all know how white people live—all we have to do is to look at any of the standard basic readers and there we will see the clean, neat houses, mother and children playing in the backyard, the smiling faces of friends and relatives, Daddy with his attache case. In this world, there is no dirt, no fighting, no arguing among children, no jealousy, no real love or affection shown, no hostility. It is an insipid world that lacks any kind of basic human vitality; but it is a "nice" world. And it is a world that is as inaccurate as the portrait of low-income life. It is an "acceptable" world, one which will not offend anyone—especially the Southern states.

Little by little, this concept of publishing is being eroded primarily because of the black activist groups that are putting political pressure on the school to change its curricula and its materials. The white professional is being told that he is incompetent because so many black children continue to fail in his school. Decentralization will help to catalyze the process of change because the school boards will genuinely reflect the needs and desires of the local community rather than "the man downtown." The big city boards of education are increasingly demanding integrated textbooks, thus, for the first time in American education, bringing the Negro and his history into the classroom. A good instance can be found by turning to Detroit. The text involved was entitled *Our United States: A Bulwark of Freedom,* an eighth grade American history text. That book pictured the Negro as a kind of happy, dancing slave who planted and harvested the crops while the white overseer ". . . saw to it that the work was done properly." Mind you, the biased treatment of the Negro had been described repeatedly by a number of eminent groups since 1949; but the book was adopted anyway.

At that point, the local branch of the NAACP asked the Detroit Board of Education to withdraw the book immediately; the Detroit Board reexamined the book and found that the complaints were justified and developed a supplementary booklet to accompany the objectionable text. Finally, in November 1963, the book was discontinued.

This example is instructive in a number of ways. First, the Detroit Board of Education did not display any real leadership in the matter until the NAACP challenged the use of an already adopted book. The school system was ultimately responsive, but the system had to be leaned on from the outside; change was not generated from within. Once the Detroit board felt the pressure, however, it in turn put pressure on the publisher who ultimately responded with a revised text.

It is also apparent that like the schools, the educational publishers have not been in the forefront of change and innovation because they have the attitude that they do not make educational policy; they simply produce the kind of materials that the schools want. (Moreover, as the size of the publisher's financial investment increases, his commitment to innovation decreases, thus reinforcing the status quo.) I postulate that this type of publishing posture is dangerous. The publisher should regard the integration of school texts as a marvellous opportunity, rather than as a problem; for the publisher has a broad social responsibility to print what people ought to know, not just what will sell.

Increasingly, educational publishers are becoming more responsive to the needs articulated by the school. While in the past, the schools have chosen to divorce themselves from a direct confrontation and involvement with the social realities which impinge upon them, this course is becoming more difficult. Thus we can expect, as time goes on, stronger demands being made upon the educational publisher by the school.

In this context then, what is the role of the concerned teacher or school administrator to be?

It is the teacher who is closest to the child and yet it is he who is often heard from last or not at all. The urban teacher knows that his students do not respond to the standard content, but he has also felt that there is little he could do about it. On the one hand, he has felt constrained by the institutional system which has often preempted innovation or innovative materials. On the other hand, what the publisher has provided by way of new instructional materials has been often laughable. Therefore, the topic of "Developing Instructional Materials for Disadvantaged Youth" has been, from the teacher's standpoint, strictly academic because he has lacked practical alternatives for action or direct implementation.

I would like to suggest that aside from what they can do in their own classrooms, teachers have three major levels of alternatives; and it is to these I would now like to turn. I should point out that these alternatives are actually modes of direct social action or kinds of political activity and that my assumption is that teachers want to influence and increase the urban school's capacity for changing social reality.

The first level is strictly personal. When a teacher has a visit from a publisher's salesman, if it's appropriate he should point out in no uncertain terms the irrelevance of the materials the salesman is selling. This discussion should be followed up by a letter to the publisher, telling him that his book, or record, or whatever has very little to do with "where it's at." Believe me, when publishers receive letters of this type, the rafters shake. Unfortunately, all too often, the letters come in pointing out that the third comma in the fourth paragraph of the sixth sentence in the eighth chapter should actually be a semicolon. While we would all agree that our instructional materials should be accurate, perhaps it is also equally important for us to say that a material is

- dishonest and distorted in its presentation of reality,
- consciously or unconsciously racist in its point of view,
- simply boring,
- not relevant to urban schools.

If these statements are followed up by a simple declaration, "I will not buy your materials," the impact on educational publishers could be more profound than one hundred scholarly articles on reading disabilities among disadvantaged learners published in a given year. That simple sentence, "I will not buy your materials," has not been heard often enough or loud enough by educational publishers.

The second level of action is actually an extension of the first, beyond personal initiative into group action. Many different kinds of formally organized group channels are available to teachers: the unions; professional groups like the IRA, NEA, and NCTE; parent-teacher groups; black action groups. In other words, if the publisher hears your declaration, "I will not buy," coupled with like declarations of others, he will be even more responsive for obvious reasons. An organizational posture, especially by a nationally based group, can be extremely effective in getting the kinds of materials you want. The stand that the NAACP took in the example already cited is one such instance. (The Negro action groups are particularly well suited to translate personal feeling into what might be called participatory democracy because they are in the forefront of social change.) Out of such confrontations new channels of communication between the teachers and the publishers can well be opened. Through these channels teachers will make it possible for their voiceless pupils to be heard. How often in the publishing houses I have heard the statement, "Children don't buy books." That statement is normally used to justify taking out of a material something new, something perhaps provocative, controversial, or contemporary because the youngsters —*our* youngsters, *your* pupils—even though they are the ultimate users of what is produced, have no say or voice in the books they read, the filmstrips or films they see, or the records or tapes they hear.

It would be an interesting experiment to hear what our students have to say about our materials. I would like to suggest that the youths are far more aware than we give them credit for. Possibly one way to test this idea would be to invite students from across the country to participate in the next IRA meeting. Let us hear from their own lips what they think of our "learning materials."

The third level of activity is an extension of the first two. For the past year our company, Educreative Systems, has been working with the Appalachia Educational Laboratory in developing junior high school vocational guidance materials. Very early in the work we found, in a special survey we did for the lab, that the present commercially available materials simply did not suit the special needs of the Appalachian youngster. The educational publisher produces for a national market, and there are many children—both urban and rural—who just don't fit into that model. One interesting trend has been, therefore, in the direction of regional initiative in developing instructional materials tailored to the particular requirements of a segment of the national market. (The Greater Cleveland Social Studies Program and the work in social studies in Los Angeles are two examples of this trend.) Unfortunately, the educational publisher often comes in after the materials have been designed so that the professional contribution he might make is negated, in effect. Moreover, he has not been strongly motivated to develop a liaison with local groups because his market, he thinks (erroneously in many instances), is too small and thereby potentially unprofitable.

Since federal funds are available for materials development activities, the third level of activity is the one in which the school or school district takes the initiative in obtaining such funds to publish the special kinds of materials it needs. The publisher then becomes a kind of consulting partner in the arrangement. He can offer writing, editorial, graphic and production expertise and, perhaps ultimately, some limited distribution.

One interesting facet of this model is that it puts materials development in the school and thereby invites the participation of teachers and students. For example, I see no reason why, with proper adult supervision and help, youngsters themselves could not develop certain types of materials for other youngsters. Field testing—hardly ever done by educational publishers—would be built into the actual situation. And new kinds of materials for teachers could emerge.

To summarize, we can use the present social concern for improving the quality of education for low income children as a means of achieving better schools and better instructional materials for *all* of our children. Thus, the present social crisis offers a promise as much as a threat. The promise is that we can through direct political activity democratize some of the social institutions—such as the schools and the publishing houses—that shape our lives.

# Administrative Responsibility and Reading Program Development for Disadvantaged Youth

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MUCH has been said and written about the vicious cycle into which the disadvantaged are catapulted and confined. A poorly educated person may either have a low paying job or be unemployed; he will, therefore, have a low income which leads to poor housing. Broken homes and de facto segregation are part of the cycle for some of our disadvantaged. Most have low self-esteem which results in low motivation and poor school performance, and the cycle continues.

One of the first things which administrators ought to do is to establish the tone or climate of operations by illuminating the potentially creative opportunity to be found in teaching the disadvantaged. It should be pointed out that a teacher in these schools has a chance to help children break out of the cycle of poverty. Administrators need to know, and make known, that while some children will learn in spite of the teacher, disadvantaged children will learn because of the teacher; and, according to the Bank Street project, they may learn partly in relation to the expectations which teachers and principals have for them (*10*).

Children often seem to succeed if the teacher expects them to, but if she expects them to fail, they rarely exceed her expectation. Teacher expectations become a self-fulfilling prophecy. Lacy (*8*) admonishes administrators, ". . . as you believe in them, students—socially disadvantaged or not—will believe in you, and in themselves, and will finally be freed to learn."

If one begins by having low expectations for the child and in addition provides him with a curriculum which is unfamiliar to him—and indeed, rejecting of him—it is no wonder that many disadvantaged children are not successful in school. The wonder may well be that there are so many that are successful. It can be seen, then, that a change is necessary in the traditional school if the children of poverty are to be reached and helped to achieve their maximum capabilities. Niemeyer (*10*) states that ". . . change can be brought about in a school system only if those in high authority require this change. . . ."

### *Needed Changes in Curriculum*

Some significant research findings point the way for administrators to make change. Bloom (*5*) conducted about 1,000 longitudinal studies of selected characteristics for his book *Stability and Change in Human Characteristics.* A major proposition which is tested throughout the book is that the environment in which the individual develops will have its greatest effect on a specific characteristic in its most rapid period of change and will have least effect on the characteristic in its least rapid period of change.

The implication here is that administrators should study children and characteristics to determine the most rapid period of change for a given characteristic. If need be, then, the curriculum can be restructured along these developmental lines. If, for example, it is determined that children learn cursive writing faster at age six, then perhaps a curriculum which places cursive writing in the third grade should be restudied.

### *Areas of Administrative Concern*

Some of Bloom's other findings indicate additional areas for administrative concern, particularly with regard to prevention of school failures. Three of these areas are 1) preschool education, 2) parent education, and 3) primary education.

It is estimated that 50 percent of the child's personality characteristics and at least one third of his development academically has taken place before he enters school. Furthermore, the research ". . . reveals the aspects of the home environment which seem to be most significant in affecting the level of measured intelligence of the child as well as his school learning" (*5*). If it is known how parents affect their child's school learning, then educators must teach them to help their children learn.

The middle-class child is given help in dealing with the world in which he lives, in using language to fix aspects of this world in his memory, and in thinking about similarities, differences, and relationships in his environment. Parents motivate, reward, and reinforce desired responses. The child is read to, spoken to, listened to, and is subjected to a stimulating and varied set of experiences in a very complex environment. He learns to learn early. When he becomes a parent, he helps provide the same types of experiences for his child; and his child learns to learn early.

Often no one has provided those experiences for the disadvantaged child; and when he becomes a parent, he is unable to provide them for his children. Learning to learn is not as central in disadvantaged families because of the size of the family, low level of education of the parents, frequent absence of a father, lack of a great deal of constructive language-oriented interaction between children and adults, and because of a consuming concern for providing the basic necessities of life.

Although they love their children as much as any other parents do, disadvantaged parents do not have the skills or the opportunities to make the educational provisions as do other parents. It then behooves the school to provide a meaningful program of parent education. Perhaps educators should stop saying this area is not the school's responsibility and begin to realize that it is; and that by assuming that responsibility, the chances of effectively carrying out the major role of educating children will be considerably heightened.

What is already known about the early language development of children also indicates that nursery schools, kindergartens, and perhaps even day-care centers must be provided to stimulate the child to perceive aspects of the world about him and to fix those aspects in his mind by the use of language. If Bloom's hypothesis is correct, that the environment has its greatest effect on a characteristic in its most rapid period of development, then administrators must consider providing preschool environments conducive to language development during this crucial period in a child's life. To neglect to do so is to fail to take adequate steps to prevent problems and help insure the success of disadvantaged children.

In addition to the aforementioned concerns of preschool education and parent education, a third area for administrative study is primary education. Much of the development of the child with regard to basic learning—including language competence, learning to learn, ability to receive instructions from adults, deferring gratification of reward, general motivation to learn, and basic attitudes toward schools and teachers—has been completed by the end of the third year in school. These learnings are prerequisite to later learning. "If learning has gone very poorly during this period, much of the work of the schools thereafter must be disciplinary or remedial" (*5*).

In light of these findings, other previous research, and the observations of myriads of primary teachers, administrators must begin to reverse their past policies and make the greatest allocation of resources in the primary grades.

While it is true that a fully equipped remedial reading laboratory in a high school makes a much more visible, prestigious, and "modern" showing for public relations purposes, administratively speaking it is not the most efficient or economical means of approaching the problem. A far more sensible approach would be to prevent as many children as possible from needing a remedial reading center.

It is true that in order to accomplish this end, administrators will need to make value judgments and decisions about priorities. Band uniforms, extensive athletic programs, transportation of high school pupils, and a 20:1 ratio in a chemistry class are important. Likewise, a remedial reading center is a necessity, but so is a highly developed early diagnostic and evaluation technique. The latter calls for testing and evaluation specialists and psychologists available in the primary grades for early identification of individuals likely to have difficulty in learning.

Following this identification, there is a need for the development of more effective learning experiences for those children identified, including diagnosis of competence, analysis of sources of difficulty, educational prescription, appropriate teaching strategies, and an abundance of appropriate learning materials. This situation implies a class size ratio of 15:1, or at most 20:1, more carefully selected and better trained teachers, more classrooms and conference rooms, additional paraprofessionals, reading and language specialists, counselors, and intensive inservice education of teachers.

In light of the research findings, administrators cannot continue to look the other way. They must come to grips with the fact that if services are provided at the period in which they are most needed, it is more economical and, at the same time, it provides for an easier and more rapid development later on. Administrators must recognize this fact and take action. And they must be prepared to risk failure in order to discover better ways of reaching all children. Such an administrator is what Avery (*4*) refers to as one of the "new breed." Strom (*15*) identifies certain traits which should be possessed by administrators of disadvantaged schools:

1. He should have understanding and empathy for the disadvantaged.
2. He should be cognizant of learning and behavioral difficulties.
3. He should have enthusiasm and show success in working with inner-city staff and low income parents.
4. He should identify himself with the major problems confronting teachers.
5. He should facilitate instructional tasks.
6. He should coordinate staff efforts and serve as a liaison between the faculty and other professionals offering special services.

Actually, except for the references to *disadvantaged, inner-city,* and *low income,* these same traits are applicable to administrators in any position, for the function of an administrator is to make great teaching possible.

Just as there are traits which apply to administrators, so there are broadly defined functions which are carried out in schools, whether or not they serve disadvantaged populations. Setting the tone and the climate of operation has already been mentioned. Other broad areas are administering the instructional program, staff personnel operations, pupil services, funds and facilities, and the school-community relations program.

How these administrative functions apply or relate to the reading program, and reading program development, is our next chief concern.

## Administering the Reading Program

Specific functions of the administrator in reading program development are the formulation of policies, the development of reading goals and objectives, and the establishment of the importance of reading from preschool through and beyond grade twelve.

While there should be some systemwide policies, the local school should be the key unit of participation. There should be provision for relating the work and problems of the local school to the work and problems of the system as a whole. Administrators should be free to work with the staff and community to make the local school program more responsive to local school conditions, within a larger system.

Still within the framework of responsibilities for administration of the instructional program is the implementation of the reading program through the provision of materials. In many cases the materials provided comprise the entire reading program; thus, wise selection is imperative.

Responsibilities for administering the instructional program and the staff personnel program overlap because the single most important ingredient in a good reading program is the good teacher. Recruitment of personnel is extremely critical.

Supervision of classroom teaching is also important. The administrator, generally the building principal, should know what effective teaching is and recognize that there are many different kinds of effective teaching. His role is to ". . . help teachers understand and implement the best of modern methodology. He must be aware of the nature and rationale of changes in teaching content and techniques. It is the principal who validates, reinforces, and rewards the practices of teachers in his school" (*2*).

Responsibility for the professional growth of teachers is still another administrative function, whether it is thought to be included in the functions relating to instruction or staff personnel.

The administrator coordinates plans for use of resources, schedules activities, secures needed consultative help, and encourages the participation of many people. He attempts to motivate individual teachers, to get them to want to grow and profit from an inservice experience. He must give of himself unsparingly and help teachers become willing to make sacrifices of time, money, and effort.

Curriculum development is one means of becoming involved in an inservice program. However, a staff will seldom accept readily a proposal that everyone must work on curriculum change. There should be agreement that those who have ideas and want to try them out may do so.

By curriculum change, the reference is not to rewriting a course of study or other paper changes. They have little significance in the task. What is needed is change in people, in their ways of doing things, in their attitudes, and in their willingness to experiment with the process of change while on the job.

In initiating the program of inservice education through curriculum change, the administrator should "take off the lid" and give people a chance to do what they know needs to be done (*1*).

The program should start where the people are, fit the location and the situation, and be related to the problems that actually exist. Those who receive the benefit of an inservice program should share the planning with those who provide it. The program should be simply organized in its early stages and avoid undertaking too many things at once. It should beflexible without becoming involved too early in a complex problem that takes a long time to arrive at goals.

"Perhaps the greatest contribution administrators can make is to support experimentation" (*16*). The administrator must create an environment in which teachers know it is permissible to try something and fail.

John Gardner (*2*) gives five aspects that an individual or a society needs to provide for self-perpetuating continuous growth: "1) self-development, 2) self-knowledge, 3) courage to fail, 4) respect for others (love), and 5) motivation of the essential element of self-renewal."

The administrator must set the climate for such growth in teachers, must provide the resources, and then, to some extent, get out of the way and let teachers grow. The administrator must also ask himself if he will ". . . serve as a catalyst for change or as the caretaker of tradition" (*4*).

Another instructional responsibility of the administrator is the appraisal of the success or failure of the reading program.

In the broad area of administering pupil services, the administrator must provide diagnostic testing and remedial instruction in reading. He must also coordinate the efforts of all the staff personnel, such as the diagnostician, remedial reading teacher, psychologist, nurse, speech therapist, and counselor, who provide special services to pupils.

It is in the area of school-community relations that administrators are currently facing their greatest challenges. They must interpret the reading program to parents, but more than that they must be willing to lead a constructive analysis of the program and be prepared to provide leadership in areas needing change. Change for the sake of change is not necessarily good, however (*4*).

> The school administrator who perceives his role as a choice among ignoring the forces of change, resisting them blindly, or embracing them indiscriminately will not survive the next decade.

## Reading Improvement Project—The Columbus (Ohio) Public Schools

To illustrate all that has been said thus far about administrative responsibility and reading program development as it relates to disadvantaged youth, it might be appropriate to describe how one school system reacted to the change brought about by the sudden availability of federal money and how a reading program was developed for disadvantaged children in grades four through twelve.

The initial phases of the program development will be described very briefly and very generally, for purposes of providing background information, since these aspects are described more in detail in an article entitled "Starting From Scratch" (*6*).

January 31, 1966, the Columbus, Ohio, Public School System found itself richer by 2¼ million dollars. Of this, over $500,000 was set aside to provide a reading improvement project. The writer was selected to administer the 2½-year project, and 38 men and women classroom teachers were selected to become reading teachers. It was the job of the administrator to train the teachers and to develop a program.

Since the teachers represented a wide diversity of backgrounds, the first stage of the inservice program to train reading specialists was the development of a common foundation and of a broad understanding of project purposes. This stage included an overview of reading and of the disadvantaged child and a general orientation to the reading improvement project. It was planned by the project administrator and included visitations, demonstrations, lectures, and participatory sessions.

The second stage of the inservice program was characterized by the assumption of total responsibility for the planning of meetings by the reading teachers. Each teacher was assigned to one of five groups. Each group determined remaining unmet inservice needs, planned a meeting to fulfill these needs, and developed means to evaluate the meeting afterwards.

In the third stage of inservice, the teachers expressed their needs through evaluation questionnaires, group discussions, and face-to-face contacts with the project administrator. The administrator, in turn, planned meetings in accordance with these expressed needs. Included in this stage were intensive diagnosis and remediation techniques, sessions on understanding the disadvantaged child, visits to other school systems, and small group work on the development of materials for teaching reading in content subjects.

The fourth stage involved the selection by each teacher of a particular area of interest. Those interested in a given area then met together to develop materials for remediation in this area. These materials were compiled and published in a book entitled *Successful Approaches to Remediation of Reading Difficulties.*

The fifth stage of the inservice program was termed "individualized inservice." Each teacher selected his own area of interest in which he could do action research or pursue an interest more in depth. Here the lid was off and no holds were barred. Some teachers became involved in more formalized research, stating and testing hypotheses, while others developed units of study, teaching tapes, games, or pamphlets.

Throughout the project teachers continued to evaluate the inservice program and suggest new dimensions and directions. Since 31 of the original 38 teachers remained with the program during the entire 2½ years, the professionalism, team spirit, and camaraderie which developed were quite extensive. They were reading teachers who were involved in the development of the ongoing program in which they taught.

The final stage of the inservice program involved the development of an orientation program for new reading teachers. In September 1967, when seven new teachers joined the program after it had been in existence for a year-and-a-half, it became apparent that the difference in amount of reading knowledge between those experienced teachers and the new teachers was tremendous. An inservice program for these seven new teachers was provided separately from that provided for the experienced teachers. It was the plan then to evaluate this separate program in order to produce a "package program" for orienting new teachers in succeeding years.

The task of evaluating the orientation for the 1967 new teachers, and establishing a program for 1968 new teachers, was assigned to the administrative assistant of the reading improvement project. The evaluation revealed that the single most beneficial part of the orientation was the assignment of a new teacher to work in the same building with an experienced teacher. This internship was therefore included in the program for orienting 1968 new teachers. Continuing with the usual procedure, the teachers involved will actively participate in the evaluation of the existing program for the purpose of planning and developing a more effective program for the future.

## Summary

In developing this paper the writer has endeavored to present four major ideas and illustrate them through the description of the Columbus Public School System's Reading Improvement Project. The first idea is that whether he is disadvantaged, any child needs the opportunity to develop to his fullest capacity through a good program of reading and the related communication arts. Austin's components of a good reading program were cited as an example.

A second idea presented was that the administrator has a major responsibility for the establishment of an operational climate which illuminates the worth and value of teaching the disadvantaged. For too long administrators have done a disservice to the disadvantaged by failing to be the leader they need. It is time to reorder priorities so that society itself may be enabled to reach fruition.

The third main idea presented was the need for change in the education of the disadvantaged and the administrator's role in bringing about that change. Bloom's research findings were used to illustrate areas for administrative consideration with suggestions for indicated curriculum changes.

The fourth major topic was the function of the administrator specifically within the reading program. The administrator is important; and, to a great extent, he determines the kind of reading program a school or school system will have. He is not expected to be a reading expert; he is an administrator, and as such it is his responsibility to secure the needed expertise and the resources to support it. He should not feel threatened by those who have more knowledge than he about reading, but he must be willing to support them and then stand back and let them use their knowledge. He must know his own strengths and weaknesses and realize that his effectiveness as an administrator is revealed through the creative potential he releases in others.

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# Inservice Education for Teachers of Disadvantaged Youth

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### *Case Number One*

A friend who is a high school counselor spoke recently about a young girl sent to her by a teacher.

"She can't read," said the teacher.

The counselor, formerly a teacher of English, tested the girl and found that she *could* read.

"Why did you send her to me?" she asked the teacher.

"Oh, she's so ugly I just couldn't stand looking at her another day," replied the teacher.

### *Case Number Two*

In a junior high school a reading teacher regularly screwed up her face and achieved an expression of disgusted resignation as she entered classrooms to take youngsters out for remedial reading.

"They're animals," she said—sometimes loudly enough for them to hear—it smells just like a zoo."

### *Case Number Three*

A young teacher full of missionary zeal usually enters her classroom with a kindly, benign expression at the start of each day; and after spending time spreading love, affection, and pats and hugs, goes home tired, distressed, and frustrated. She has attempted to teach nothing, and the kids—second graders—have run wild.

"But they have no one who loves them, and I must give them love," she cries plaintively.

* * *

The first teacher went into high school prepared by her preservice education to teach literature—and perhaps a little composition. She *appears* to want to teach beautiful people only. Inservice education might help her to face herself, to see her limitations, and to accept and teach her students.

The second teacher needs the kind of humane understanding that could be provided by the right kind of inservice education. She *might* be saved.

The third teacher is young enough to profit a great deal from inservice education. Her idea of love is partly right—but she must learn that love is more than just a sentimental, gushy kind of acceptance. It includes a tough, realistic perception of what disadvantaged youth require, and it includes expectation of success. Respect for the individual pupil is implicit in this kind of love.

Let us move from the three brief case studies of teachers who need inservice education to a consideration of 1) What inservice education will *not* do, and 2) What inservice education *can* and should do.

*It will not* solve all of the problems teachers have. Nor should it. Preservice preparation must include more realistic courses in the psychology and sociology of the disadvantaged and more practical courses that will prepare the new teacher to work with what now amounts to the total public school population, the disadvantaged.

*It will not* change the basic attitudes of those beings I can only call "nonteachers." These are those strange people, cold ones, who enter teaching because 1) they have failed at everything else; 2) they are basically sadistic and know that teachers can murder the human spirit with impunity; 3) the hours suit them; or 4) countless other reasons that have nothing to do with the true teacher's honest desire to help human beings learn about themselves, about others, and about "being."

I am not sure that my three initial examples constitute nonteachers. As a person who works with teachers, I have no more right to make hasty judgments about *them* than they have to make superficial and hasty judgments about pupils. The right kind of inservice education will separate the sheep from the goats, will reveal the nonteacher who should go into numismatics, paleontology, podiatry, astrology, acoustical engineering, or any job that deals with things rather than with human beings.

*It will not* magically transform unprepared, uninformed, unimaginative, and uninspired teachers into marvelous persons who will hook the disadvantaged on reading, teach them the necessary reading skills, involve them in the reading process, and thus solve most of their educational problems.

Inservice education for teachers of the disadvantaged will help teachers to identify the disadvantaged. By *disadvantaged* I mean all pupils—preschool to adult—who have been deprived in any way of those advantages enjoyed by most Americans. Among these I count the poor in the country and in the city, those who simply lack money to buy food, clothing, and books.

Inservice education for the teachers of these pupils must help such teachers face the fact that *poor* and *dumb* are not synonyms. A hungry child might seem slow. A well-fed child, on the other hand, might seem smarter than he really is. These teachers must learn to see poor kids not as know-nothings but as human beings who have something to teach the teacher. Teachers of these pupils must know language experience approaches that will help them find out what resources such pupils have.

Among the disadvantaged I must also include those who have been deprived because of senseless prejudice against them. These pupils are often—but not always—poor also, and in their number I count American red, black, yellow, and white people.

Inservice education must provide teachers with real facts about the different people who populate this land. Too many teachers swallowed whole the miseducation of their youth about the American Indian. They must learn his true history and share it with their pupils. Recently, I visited a fine school for Indians, where no teachers were Indians and where the children were learning all about Hawaii. In Hawaii the children were probably learning about the Sioux, Navajos, Pueblos, or Seminoles. I know a person who visited a reservation in the North and asked Indian pupils to speak to him in their own tongue, to tell him some of their legends, and to play their music. They could not, but found some old people who could. This man was not a teacher but a minister.

Such tapping of community resources must be done by teachers for black pupils, some of whom have relatives still living who can tell true tales of slavery and of life in the past century.

Another large group must be numbered among the disadvantaged. This is a group often termed the alienated, the uninvolved. It might include some of the poor, the deprived, and those against whom prejudice operates. But more and more it also includes the children of the rich, the cut-off children of the suburbs; people of all ages who do not read because they see nothing that interests them, or who will not read because no one has tuned them in. Inservice education must provide insight into what makes these pupils tick —or rather, what keeps them from ticking. It can offer specific ways into the isolated worlds of these nonlearners, and it can help them to want to read and to learn.

There was a girl who, because she did not read, was sent to a teacher. The girl was sent, fortunately, to a teacher who filled his room with books and permitted his pupils free access to them. He *knew* the girl read on a second grade level, and she picked up a book he considered too difficult.

"You can't read that; it's hard," protested the young man.

"Try me!" responded the girl. He did. She read.

"Why?" he asked.

"Oh," she said. "I wouldn't read for that old woman. The books were dull, and she was boring."

Inservice education then must provide a chance for teachers to know materials and a chance to learn to use them well, even to create them.

These things I do believe:

1. Inservice education is *not* just for *teachers* of the disadvantaged but for all personnel who work with the kinds of pupils cited here. Superintendents, principals, supervisors and paraprofessionals should have this education together, and the following elements are essential.
2. Self-knowledge comes first. Provision must be made to give every person a chance to see and to hear himself.
   Tape recorders in class rooms aid self-evaluation
   Video tape
   Role playing with teachers and administrators as students
   Doing *everything* that is demanded of students
     Taking reading tests

3

Oral and silent reading
Writing language experience stories
Devoting a week to reading only what the kids read—remembering that among the disadvantaged this tripe is sometimes the only reading matter available.

(On upper levels, staying awake an hour listening to a lecture is hard; we demand *six* hours of pupils.)

3. Understanding language development and the importance of the disadvantaged pupils nonverbal and verbal differences.
   Realizing that the pupil might not read books well, but he reads the teacher beautifully
   Ages—gestures
4. Learning to use pupils as resources.
   Boys—games—automobiles
   English experience—cricket—roundus—Wind in the Willows *dead* hedgehog
5. Knowing that individualization is possibly more important for these disadvantaged pupils than for most others; and learning many ways to reach them.
   Language experience—perhaps using syntax of kids (Books from Florida)
   Fernald for the "kinesthetic kids"
   Programed instruction for some
   Machines are useful, and teachers should learn to use them. *For these kids*—machines are in some cases better than some teachers. They do not insult; they do not purse up their lips, or look disgusted, and they are objective
   Knowing and using individualized reading approaches
   Filling rooms with books, pictures, music *on all* levels—not just elementary
   Creating new ways in
      Role playing for comprehension
      Theater games
      Students as tutors (Philips)

Enough of specifics. Inservice education is a continuing process and must never be divorced from what goes on in school. Instead of separate "courses," the school should be a laboratory, and the entire staff should be involved—with pupils—in improving instruction.

Action research in the classroom should be done with new methods. Instead of papers or tests, lessons should be taught and evaluated by the teacher, by colleagues, by staff, by pupils. (Audiotape and videotape, as suggested earlier.) Work on a specific situation: a problem—tape conversation, see film, see sociogram.

The teachers of teachers should teach kids. People who write books should practice what they preach.

In short, inservice education of the disadvantaged means total involvement.

George Bernard Shaw said, "Teaching would be impossible unless pupils were sacred."

Inservice education can help teachers see pupils as sacred—as human beings, not animals.

Langston Hughes said:

*What happens to a dream deferred*
*Does it dry up like a raisin in the sun*
*Does it fester like a sore and then run*
*Does it stink like rotten meat*
*Or crust and sugar over like a syrupy sweet*
*Does it sag like a heavy load*
*Or—does it explode?*

Inservice education, used for the three teachers whose brief stories started this story, can keep the dreams of the disadvantaged from exploding. And it must.

# The Fourth R: Reality and Its Implications for Preparing Teachers of Disadvantaged Youth

SHIRLEY McNEIL
Detroit, Michigan, Public Schools

Open my eyes to visions girt
With beauty and with wonder lit—
But let me always see the dirt,
And all that spawn and die in it.
Open my ears to music; let
Me thrill with Spring's first flutes and drums—
But never let me dare forget
The bitter ballads of the slums.

Louis Untermeyer (*32*)

IN "THE COUNTRY OF THE BLIND," H. G. Wells (*35*) tells a legend about a unique race of blind men who lived in a remote country far away. By chance, one day, a stranger accidentally wandered into this country from the outer world. Nunez was his name.

## Neophyte Teachers in Ghetto Schools

Many teachers approach inner-city schools with the misconception of Nunez. Each semester—fortified by university degrees, a middle-class or upper-lower-class outlook, neophyte skills, and vague conceptions of how children learn—thousands of teachers accept assignments in slum schools throughout the nation. Too often, like Nunez, they enter with the conviction that "In the country of the blind the one-eyed man is king!"

Later, the teachers are stunned to discover that instead of viewing teachers as supreme, disadvantaged students see them as deprived. Davis (*5*), explained this phenomenon when he wrote:

> A young and hopeful teacher, trained in our best colleges and universities, often undergoes an emotional trauma when he begins teaching in a situation where the majority of students are from families of the lower socioeconomic groups. Many new (and old) teachers find it impossible to understand the attitudes and values of these pupils; they are puzzled by the students' reactions to the material and to the instructor, and by their often sullen, resentful behavior. Such teachers, coming from middle-class backgrounds and possessing highly academic training from colleges and universities, experience a cultural shock owing to the great difference between their own training and academic goals and those of most of their students. The result in many cases is bewilderment, followed by disillusionment and apathy.

Our nation's schools are replete with teachers who blame the students for not learning. Rather than analyzing their own ineptness in "this new uncharted land" and accepting the unique challenge it offers, many teachers ignore the clarion cries of ghetto youth for knowledge. They become defensive and in their defensiveness they change from educators to custodians. A circular process of resentment begins. The students perceive themselves as prisoners; many of their teachers view themselves as educational wardens.

Edwards (*11*) expostulates:

> A substantial segment of the American population is imprisoned in our schools. They are required by law to attend. Our educators are virtual custodians of torture chambers, euphemistically referred to as institutions of learning. And the hostility or indifference that is generated within these captives —impaled upon the spike of our present-day curriculum—is both understandable and justifiable. These captives are the culturally, socially, and hence, educationally disadvantaged "learners."
>
> Essentially, there is no conscious malice on the part of school people in their neglect of the special learning needs and psychosocial adjustment problems of these disadvantaged students. Rather, this neglect has been spawned either by indifference or lack of understanding of students who are not "just ordinary" in their preparation for traditional school experiences.

> Unfortunately, however there are many students who come from cultural pockets that are quite at variance with the general American culture . . . .

If teachers become traumatized in ghetto schools, what happens to the so-called disadvantaged youth who must attend? According to Deutsch (*9*), students, too, go through a type of cultural trauma!

> They have entered a foreign land. There is a teacher speaking in continuous sentences for longer periods of time than they have been spoken to before, often speaking in a different dialect, and expecting and anticipating attention from the children, and assuming that they are functioning in terms of the same parameters as she.
>
> These children have come from a different cultural context and have had no real preparation to meet the demands of the school. It is not simply that the children lack skills—there is an incongruity between the skills that the children have and the kinds of skills that the school demands.

## Preparing Future Teachers for Inner-City Schools

Universities in the Detroit area are attempting to reduce the social and psychological distance between Motor City youth and beginning teachers by conducting undergraduate classes, graduate courses, and teacher corps training sessions in ghetto schools.

On-the-spot experiences in slum schools provide the future teachers with a realistic day-to-day panorama of the dynamics of inner-city teaching: the problems, frustrations, fears, sorrows, exultations, successes, and failures. Students from the universities become better able to understand, from firsthand knowledge, why failure is often more prevalent than success in inner-city schools despite commitment, competent teachers, lesson plans, contagious enthusiasm, and effort.

Participants observe, first hand, what is relevant to impoverished youth and what is superfluous. They learn to construct flexible lessons for transient populations. They have an invaluable opportunity to apply theoretical learning to actual teaching situations in a tutorial situation, under the supervision of a reading specialist, known as a reading coordinator or under the guidance of a master teacher selected by the university.

Help is given in a crisis situation at its inception. The novices learn how to establish rapport with ego-damaged students. Likewise they learn how to avoid, inadvertently or otherwise, creating hostility in students.

Daily vignettes teach more than myriad words. Watching a kindergarten teacher at Burton School struggling to identify the names of pupils, future teachers learn that even taking attendance is difficult.

> Maybe a boy is listed as Norman, but he only answers to "Toddie" (the teacher finds that out two weeks later).
>
> Or maybe the child doesn't answer at all but just sits there until finally some other kid says, "Oh, that's him over there!"

A Primary Unit One teacher, trying to explain the word *go* to his young charges at Williams School, tried to teach it with sentences, actions, and pictures. It seemed to no avail. Then, toward the end of the session, one child contributed, "If you put two of the *go's* together, you get *go-go*, and I knows what *go-go* means. It's like Go-Go girls." (Who said inner-city kids lack background?)

Listening to Chris at Kennedy School struggling through four lines of prose, which obviously is painful for him, is a memorable experience. He consistently substituted the name *Father* for *Bob*, *Mother* for *Nancy*, and *up* for *come*. In several sentences he read sight words fluently when they were spelled with a lowercase letter. (He had obviously been taught and remembered the words in lowercase form. Later he was suprised to discover that the sight words were still the same words when a big letter at the beginning replaced the small letter.) Having been thoroughly instructed that words with lowercase letters had certain meanings, he obviously thought the teacher was demented when she tried vainly to convince him that the word spelled with a capital had the same meaning and that it was not a different word.

Six-year-old Sylvester could read the basal texts, but he got infuriated when he read the comprehension statements. In answer to the question about "What Teddy (an insipid pink and blue toy) could ride," he dutifully supplied the response, "Teddy can ride the airplane." Then with a disgusted look on his small black face he went on to argue about how dumb that idea really was.

> "Look at the bear," he challenged. "He cain't ride no airplane. He ain't got no fingernails. He ride on an airplane—he fall off!"

Motor City teachers (*24*) and future teachers can be heard to lament about textbooks:

> Some of the children in our schools have never seen a father figure in their homes. The mother is the central figure in their lives. In writing a textbook for children in the center district a story or two should depict a home where there is no father, and how youngsters can best help their mother keep the family together.
>
> I think textbooks should show Negro and white children as we have them in school. It is embarrassing to me to use books in which Negro children see only white children. I think our children would take better care of the books if they could see themselves in the books. (Note: 61.4 percent of all children enrolled in Detroit's public schools are black.)

The culturally disadvantaged child is just not familiar with the residents of *The Little White House* (Ginn).

> Get some soot on *The Little White House,* or come
> come up with *The Big Brown Tenement!*

What's wrong with a story about a child who has his own key to get in after school because both parents are at work? Or a child who gets up to get his own breakfast in the morning as mother and father are at work or because there is just mother and she has to work? Or a child who has to come in from school quietly because father works the midnight shift and is asleep during the day? Include apartment dwellers, little white house dwellers, roominghouse dwellers—even trailercamp dwellers. Show children as they are! Ponytails and patent leather shoes are fine, but children get dirty. Negro children wear braids, too. They play in the streets as well as in the park. They even play in alleys and backyards.

Teachers who work with disadvantaged children, nationally and internationally, can never assume that textbook concepts and words have the same connotation for disadvantaged youth that the author intended, as the following anecodote (*34*) reveals:

> "What's this word?"
> "Brother."
> "Brother?"
> "Yes. Like your little brother over there."
> "But he wasn't always my brother."
> "What!?"
> "See, he used to be my cousin."
> "How does he come to be your brother if he was once your cousin?"
> "Mummie knows."

Future teachers meeting Marc or his counterpart first hand see a tiny, cherubic child who has resisted learning to read with a passion. For two years he was unable to grasp the ABC's or words like *Tom* and *ride*. Finally after two years, a word M-O-T-H-E-R caught his attention. The reading coordinator at Owen (*27*) set about teaching it with all the expertise at his command. A breakthrough!

> Marc asked, "You mean like MY mother?"
> "Yes! . . . your mother, her mother, his mother, my mother."
> "But MY mother?" Marc persisted.
> "Yes, of course, your mother."
> "Oh," grinned Marc. And he looked at the word again and said, "The word is MOTHER!"

Maybe Marc forgot the whole thing later, but the reading coordinator didn't. He remembered that despite all the records that label Marc a failure, for just a little while on a rainy, gloomy afternoon Marc could read and comprehend the word *Mother*.

University students attending classes and tutoring in depressed area schools observe many dedicated teachers valiantly striving to inculcate the joy of learning in their students. Occasionally, despite de facto segregation, boycotts, vandalism, pandemonium, firs, false alarms, overcrowding, and inadequate textbooks, some teachers still possess the magic to evoke those "teachable" moments when wonder and hope transcend reality and they, with their students, can miraculously foget what men really are and dream what men can be.

Whatever preconceived ideas future teachers may have entertained, prior to their eye-to-eye confrontations with the realities of ghetto schools and their youth, many return from the experience much less critical, fearful, and myopic. Many overcome their monolithic concept of ghetto students and become more receptive to them in the process. They learn to view them in a positive context, as children with multiple problems but manifold potential.

## Teaching Basic Reading Skills to Disadvantaged Youth

The oft quoted statement, "Take every child where he is" must be more than an educational cliché for reading teachers and specialists in the megalopolis. It should be the keystone of their professional commitment if they are to meliorate successfully the reading deficiencies of disadvantaged youth. Despite the horrendous poverty that exists in urban slums, no two children living in the ghetto enter school with identical experiential backgrounds.

Cecelia, the product of a poor but closely knit family, entered kindergarten at Couzens School as a self-taught reader. She had somehow learned to read and now wanted to read to learn. Fantastic! Test results administered upon admission confirmed the fact that Cecelia, "a bright, responsive child from a family of five, residing in the Jeffries Housing Project," *was* able to read all the preprimers put in front of her with fluency and comprehension. Instead of retaining her in kindergarten, the principal and reading coordinator made adjustments in scheduling to enable Cecelia to be assigned to the primary unit. Periodic checking by the reading coordinator revealed to everyone's satisfaction that Cecelia was progressing well. Later, when Cecelia was retested on the Ginn Primer Achievement Test she received 68 correct responses out of a possible score of 75. Cecelia was the youngest in her class, but her social adjustment was, nevertheless, very successful.

Most disadvantaged youth enter school initially imbued with the desire to learn to read. However, many of them are less successful than Cecelia, in their attempts to perfect this developmental task of childhood, and reading becomes either a dream denied or deferred.

In the process of failing to learn to read many students become ego-damaged, acquiring feelings of worthlessness, guilt, and failure which often manifest themselves in aggression, withdrawal or apathy. As students adopt an inadequate concept of their own abilities they become "psychologically crippled," according to Earl Kelley *(16)*.

> Our psychological selves may become crippled in much the same way as our physical selves may be crippled by disease or by an accident. They are the same, in effect, because each limits what we can do. When we see ourselves as inadequate, we lose our "can-ness." There becomes less and less we can do.
>
> Perhaps it is unfortunate that we cannot see the psychological self in the same way we see the physical self.
>
> Our hearts go out to the physical cripple—we do not enter him in a footrace—but we expect the psychological cripple to step lively and meet all the vicissitudes of life as though he were whole.

Problem readers, who are often psychological cripples, are still expected to compete in urban classrooms. Some nonreaders become so terrified of the book-centered reality of school that they have nightmares, like Tommy *(29)*. In a composition entitled "The Thing" he wrote:

> It was 12 in the nite. I was in the woods. It was very dark out. I saw something. I ran and ran but it ran too. I went up a tree. It came too. I crawled to the end of a big branch. It crawled out there too and struck me. And do you know what happened? I woke up for school. *Do not read.*

Later he confided the "Thing" that terrified him was READING!

Eleven-year-old Michael entered Burton School with a "defeatist attitude" toward learning to cover up his deep feelings of inadequacy. "He was not a troublesome boy, but frequently showed evidence of being licked before he started."

When Michael was initially referred to the reading coordinator, he was classified as a nonreader. In addition, he was said to have a mental block to reading. Michael's failure to read totally convinced him that he couldn't do anything, at all.

On a spelling test day, for example, Michael would dutifully write the heading on his paper, number it from 1 through 18. Then he would put an *X* after each number and give himself an *E*. He failed himself *before the teacher even dictated the words!*

By the time a retarded reader becomes an adolescent he either accepts his fate as a slow learner and allows good attendance, extra curricular activities, and social promotion to help him survive; or he reaches sixteen and decides that the invisible, but monumental barrier which separates him from his peers is too great and he becomes a dropout; or he remains, like Larry (*20*), full of boredom and hostility waiting for an incident to force him to depart. He resentfully attends classes as a hostile observer pathetically uninvolved and defiant, thinking to himself:

> "I'm bored! I'm bored!"
> "I won't read; I can't read."
> "I'll just sit here and spin my ring."
> "If he ask me what I'm doing, I'll just say, 'I'm spinning my goddam ring, whaddaya think I'm doing?"

## The Need for Reading Specialists for Disadvantaged Youth

Confronted by a multiplicity of problems of the retarded reader, and sensitized by the feelings of defeat and rejection which they verbalized, Detroit educators realized that more than empathy was required if teachers were expected to make school significant in the lives of embittered, retarded readers. In addition to liberal doses of understanding such students needed concrete help from individuals who had expertise in the area of their deficiencies.

Reading coordinators were introduced in Detroit Public Schools to fill this void. In 1959, at the beginning of the Great Cities Project in Detroit Public Schools, reading disability was identified as one of the major deterrents to the academic success of disadvantaged youth. To cope with the diffuse reading problems of Motor City youth, the position of reading coordinator was created. Currently, there are 36 full-time positions subsidized by the Detroit Board of Education and Title I funds.

Reading coordinators are assigned to a cluster of schools to assist with ongoing reading programs in selected, inner-city schools. The reading coordinators' specialized training and skills enable them to serve successfully as instructional leaders and to assist, as curriculum consultants, administrators, and teachers (K-12). Upon request, reading coordinators give demonstration lessons, assist probationary teachers, help classroom teachers diagnose reading problems, prescribe corrective techniques to overcome specific reading disabilities, and provide resource materials for teachers.

Students who receive the direct assistance of the reading coordinator must meet at least three of the following criteria:

1. One or more years retarded in reading ability
2. One or more years retarded in mathematics achievement
3. A minimum of ten days' absence per semester
4. One or more years overaged for grade placement
5. One or more police contacts
6. Three or more school counselor contacts for disciplinary action
7. From a low-income family

The reading coordinators' program in Title I schools is predicated upon the belief that disadvantaged youth can be taught to read if given special assistance, motivation, and instruction (*25*).

> When ego support is given and an empathic relationship can be established, a hurt child can show what his problems are so that he can be helped. Once established, this relationship can be the most significant factor in enabling academically frustrated youth to achieve success.

Several years ago when the author left the classroom to become an administrator, she received a surprise gift of literature from a former student whose life was changed after she, too, became a bibliophile. Inscribed in the front of the book were these words (*26*):

No one saves us but ourselves;
No one can and no one may.
We ourselves must walk the Path.
Teachers merely show the way.

## Preservice and Inservice Training for Reading Specialists

When vacancies occur in Title I schools announcements for the position of reading coordinator are posted throughout the Detroit Public School System. Teachers who qualify are invited to appear before a selection committee chosen by the Department of Personnel and the supervisor of reading coordinators. Successful candidates are later sent a letter of congratulations by the supervisor of reading coordinators. Accompanying the letter is a questionnaire for reading coordinators which each new reading specialist is requested to complete and return. Data received from each new reading coordinator are analyzed. This feedback information serves as the basis for selecting materials and consultants for the initial orientation workshop for reading coordinators which precedes the assignment of each new reading coordinator to an inner-city school.

Inservice meetings throughout the year serve as the hub of the reading coordinators' program. Regularly scheduled meetings help the neophyte coordinators, as well as the veterans, keep abreast of current research and relevant materials suitable for educating inner-city youth in Detroit schools. Local authorities and consultants of national renown provide expertise and inspiration at the reading coordinators' inservice meetings.

## Evaluation of the Reading Coordinators' Role

A recent publication entitled *The Constant Search* (*8*), contains historical descriptions of the reading coordinators' role from its inception to the present time. The first in-depth evaluation (*21*) of the role was made in 1964 along with a study of other components which comprised the Great Cities Project at that time. Approximately 325 educators were asked, "What ingredient of the Great Cities Project should be selected as most crucial to the success of the pupils if the Great Cities Program were expanded to 30 more schools?" The coaching teacher (as the reading coordinator was formerly called) ranked *first* out of the 14 choices made.

If the Great Cities Project were to be phased into thirty other schools, what ingredients would you select as most crucial to success for pupils?

*Choices Available:*

Full-time visiting teacher
Full-time coaching teacher
Full-time school-community agent
Availability of building for after school and evening use
Extra materials and supplies
Continuance of additional field trip experiences
Continued support by project staff (in terms of personal support only, not financial)
Continuation of supplementary monies in the school fund
Continuation of experimental summer school experiences
After school program for pupils
After school program for adults
Inservice Workshops
Coordinating council of teachers
Increased production of teacher-made guidance materials

Full-time coaching teacher (reading coordinator) ranked 1 out of the above 14 choices.

In March 1968, principals in Title I schools were again asked to respond to a detailed questionnaire regarding the effectiveness of the reading coordinator in their building. The ratings by Title I principals were again above average in most areas for new coordinators and exceptionally excellent for coordinators with three or more years of service.

### Preventing Future Reading Failures in the Primary Unit Through Programed Tutoring

(A new facet of the reading coordinators' program)

The dreams of youth
Are fragile as a crystal vase
That captures for a moment

The brilliant hues . . . of the sun.
If broken, the chaff
Like sparks from a dying ember,
Fly up and lodge in the heart
To heal, in time
But ever to leave scars . . . (*31*).

Minnie E. and Spencer T. were written off as hopeless infants by educational specialists. Psychiatric assessment further sealed their doom. According to test data nothing could be done for these pathetic, black, unfortunate products of early deprivation. At seven and eight they were too young to drop out of school, so they drearily trudged to school each day as expected. How did it feel to watch others read with ease when they couldn't decipher the simplest word? What was it like to sit anxiously in the first grade classroom praying silently that their ignominous stupidity would not be revealed for the world to see? How does a child feel who is forced daily to climb a verbal Mt. Everest which to everyone else about him is just an easy, level plain? Like thousands of their counterparts in ghetto schools across the nation, Spencer and Minnie failed the first year of school.

Despite the initial heartbreak of their first nightmare year at school, as onlookers instead of participants in the educational process, Spencer and Minnie returned the following September. They were well on their way to retreating further into nothingness when they were randomly selected in November to participate in a special experimental reading program for beginning readers. Minnie and Spencer were two of the ten potential failures chosen from their school to receive tutorial help. After the program had been in operation for several months, Spencer and Minnie showed miraculous progress. They learned to decipher words, read, comprehend sentences with accuracy, and participate in class along with their peers.

Recently, the reading coordinator at Owen, tested Spencer and Minnie on the Ginn Preprimer Achievement Test to document their progress. Since everyone at the school had formerly been convinced both children were unteachable they were flabbergasted by the phenomenal scores the children received in word recognition and comprehension—Minnie scoring 32 of 36 possible points and Spencer, 34 of the 36 possible points. As illustrated by the dramatic changes in Minnie and Spencer and their new perceptions of themselves and school, it is imperative to remember that programed tutoring worked successfully *for them* in spite of dire predications of continuous failure.

Owen Elementary School is one of nine schools presently participating in the first national field study of programed tutoring. Programed tutoring is a highly structured, individualized program, of a preventative nature, designed to instruct underachievers and nonreaders in the primary unit *before* they become chronic failures.

Created by Ellson, Barber, Harris, and Adams the program was conceived as a supplement to classroom instruction, not as an alternative. Originally the program was designed to be used by paraprofessionals, exclusively. The authors felt that educational specialists would deviate too much from the rigorous format prescribed in the tutors' guide as a prerequisite for success of the program:

> Programed tutoring can be taught to professional teachers; but, to the extent that they are artists, they may prefer not to accept the discipline that it requires and to this extent are not likely to be good program tutors, even if it were economical to use them. It is well adapted, however, for use by nonprofessionals who are not expected to create their own techniques. . . .

Despite the author's skepticism, however, the writer saw the possibilities of making Detroit an exception and initiate an experimental program in Title I schools program, utilizing the combined talents of reading coordinators and paraprofessionals. She convinced the psychologists that the team approach could work in Detroit under her direction. Thus, the cooperative venture with Indiana University was begun, with a one-week orientation workshop which included Title I principals, reading coordinators, and teacher aides. The afterglow of that initial workshop is still visible in the outstanding tutorial program which has resulted in each school.

A questionnaire was sent to each homeroom teacher in the nine pilot schools to determine the extent of progress that was visible in their classrooms. On a scale from 1 to 5, teachers were asked to rate the children in the following areas: participation, sightreading, comprehension, and following directions. Despite the fact that the children had only been tutored for approximately three months (due to the Christmas interruption and Hong Kong flu), most teachers discerned visible improvement. The average level of achievement was 2.3 for sight recognition and comprehension and 2.0 in the following directions. Teacher comments are, perhaps, even more revealing than the numerical assessment of progress as evidence of the phenomenal progress some students are making. Their voluntary comments on the open-end section of the survey are as follows:

> When Joe transferred to my room in February, he could not even recognize the first word in the first preprimer. Since I could not give him a block of time every day, I referred him to tutoring. As of March 15, Joe was able to recognize most of the words in the *first* two preprimers . . . if Joe had had no outside help or individual attention, except what I could give him in my spare minutes, I doubt if he would have progressed to this level.
>
> This child is below his level for a nine-year-old; but he has made great improvement during the time he has been with the program. Without the program, he would be left behind and lost in a classroom of 28 children, all of whom are beyond him in ability.
>
> I feel the program has been very helpful for my child. Sharon has showed outstanding progress while being tutored. She started with a reading readiness score of 8 (out of a possible 72) but gave every indication this score was valid. Research and development say this is too low to score on the first percentile generally, due to multiple reasons, some children score low on reading readiness tests; therefore, any score 25 or above isn't looked upon in dismay, but obviously, 8 is exceptionally low. She has now finished *The Little White House* (fourth reader in the beginning series) and is able to read it fluently. I feel that the one-to-one relationship has been very helpful since Sharon comes from a large family, has no mother, and probably gets little attention at home.

Children selected at random to participate in the programed tutoring project meet daily with their instructors for fifteen minutes of in-depth reading instruction. Each session is designed to meet the individual needs of each pupil and enable each child to progress at his own rate. This is accomplished by sequentially introducing each child to various steps, in a daily lesson, which he must master in order to proceed to the next step. These segments are called items. Specific instructions on how to verbally introduce and teach each item are delineated for the tutor in a comprehensive Tutor's Guide.

In addition to acquiring a sight vocabulary each child learns to read a variety of comprehension materials successfully. He also learns to decipher words and read independently.

A daily progress report is compiled for each child by the school community assistant who provides direct instruction for the child.

The reading coordinator, in each participating school, serves as a liaison between the classroom teacher and the paraprofessional tutor.

Unlike many other tutorial programs in which tutors are encouraged to talk with their tutees, read stories to them, or play games with them, this program is structured to introduce basic reading skills only. It is the responsibility of each classroom teacher to provide enriching experiences for both the tutored children and the controlled group.

Consequently, reading gains made as a result of this approach result from the consistent, structured, tutorial approach rather than the one-to-one relationship.

## Rationale for Stressing Inferential Skills in Inner-city Schools

Bruner (2) discusses the consequences which an impoverished environment can have on a rational organism as he struggles to mature and survive. He believes the marks of oppression are stupefying:

> In general, an impoverished environment, one with diminished heterogeneity and a reduced set of opportunities for manipulation and discrimination, produces an adult organism with reduced abilities to discriminate, with stunted strategies for

> coping, with less taste for exploratory behavior, and with *a notably reduced tendency to draw inferences* that serve to cement the disparate events of its environment, such as between the light of a candle flame and the likelihood of its burning when you put your nose into it.

Bruner's words, if true, should shake the sensitivities of reading teachers and jar them into immediate action. Isn't much critical reading based on one's ability to read between the lines? Isn't logical thinking based on a person's ability to discern and investigate rational principles and variables which lead to "reliable inferences"?

In May 1968, after analyzing the standardized test results of 31 inner-city schools, McNeil (*23*) felt compelled to investigate the Iowa Test of Basic Skills in depth to determine why so many Motor City youth who performed satisfactorily on informal reading tests, failed dismally on the Iowa Test. The purpose of the study was to discover which skills the test designers and researchers were giving priority, in order to compare their data with the items classroom teachers of reading stressed for mastery. At fourth grade level, eight skills were identified by test designers as crucial for students to master. To prepare fourth grade readers to perform successfully on the Iowa Test of Basic Reading Skills (which is the standardized test of abilities currently administered) the following skills were considered essential for learning:

1. Author's viewpoint
2. Detecting main ideas
3. Generalizations
4. Proper time sequence
5. Style or structure
6. Understanding facts and details
7. Understanding implied facts and relationships
8. Understanding meanings of words and phrases

Reading coordinators and classroom teachers were surveyed to determine which of the skills should be stressed prior to the fourth grade to insure success on the Iowa Test of Basic Skills. There was a wide discrepancy between the skills which reading coordinators and classroom teachers identified as crucial compared with the test elements the designers selected as essential.

In order of importance, test designers listed the following three skills:

1. Understanding Implied Facts and Relationships (31 items on the Iowa Test are devoted to this skill)
2. Understanding Facts and Details (18 items on the Iowa Test are geared to this skill)
3. Detecting Main Ideas (7 items pertain to this skill)

Although 31 items on the Iowa Test pertain to inference, most of the coordinators insist it is not given priority among reading skills taught at the local school level or in textbooks used for instruction. Perusal of the basal reader, Ginn, indicates that inference is given only minor attention. In each basal reader of grades one through three, there is no topical reference for inference. Of 2,564 pages in the teachers' manuals introducing skills, only 52 are specifically concerned with inference.

The challenge to reading specialists is obvious. Environmental deprivation and circumscribed teaching have taught the child to master a variety of comprehension skills. However, there is a dichotomy between the myriad skills which the child has learned and the types of skills required on standardized tests, such as the Iowa Test of Basic Skills.

Thus, if the test designers are correct and inferential skills should be given priority over decoding and all other comprehension skills, present instructional methods and materials must be reconsidered. But if the test designers are in error, then new priorities are in order when future tests are created. Meanwhile, concerned teachers (K-12) must design lessons of their own to fill the void in current textbooks in order to assist children to read for denotative and connotative ideas.

## Black Still Ain't Beautiful in Language and Literature: Implications for Teachers of Afro-American Youth

"Black is beautiful" is frequently heard in American society today. But black has not always been synonymous with beauty. In fact, the word *black* did not have a positive connotation in the eyes of many Americans until recently. The term has generally been used in a derogatory manner for purposes of insult and deprecation. The negative concept of blackness, as it related to human beings, was expressed, for years, in graphic ghetto refrains such as, "If you're black, get back; if you're white, alright."

Whiteness, as a symbol of superiority, was also revealed in such bitter humor as in this childhood greeting:

"How're you doin'?"
"Fine. Country's safe; White man still ahead."

In color-conscious America, where white racism is not a myth but a demoralizing reality for Afro-Americans, visible blackness has been a stigma, detriment, and mark of oppression for so long that racial humor based on references to dark pigmentation are oft times shrugged aside with the comment, "That's life!"

The following humorous gibe, illustrates graphically that black still ain't beautiful:

Black female: Mirror, mirror on the wall
Who is fairest of them all?
Answer from the looking glass:
It's *still* Snow White, black "wench" and
don't you forget it!

As Grier and Cobb (*13*), two black psychiatrists, point out in *Black Rage*:

> This is the humor of the ghetto and there is no denying it: the brother has a streak of hedonism and a capacity for joy. He drinks more, dances more, and loves more. All suffering people turn in their sorrow to laugh at themselves; they laugh to keep from crying.

Several years ago at the American Federation of Teachers' Conference on Negro History in Washington, D.C., Davis (*6*), explained how the English language and history perpetuate and contribute to racism:

"The English language is my enemy. Racism is inherent in it." As an example he stated: "There are 134 synonyms for whiteness in

Roget's *Thesaurus* of the English language—44 of which are favorable and pleasing to contemplate." Davis cited, ". . . shining, purity, cleanness, upright," and others. Only 10 could be considered negative. "On the other hand the word *blackness* has 120 synonyms, 60 of which are distinctly unfavorable, and none of them even mildly positive. Among these are begrime, sinister, evil, and wicked."

The truth of Davis' remarks is underscored if one reflects upon synonyms which are presented in Roget's *Thesaurus.* The connotations are often overwhelmingly derogatory when referring to the concept or state of blackness. They are commendable, on the whole, when coupled with whiteness.

*The Random House Dictionary of the English Language* (*30*), with a 1966 copyright date, likewise, perpetuates these sterotypes. Its third definition, "of, pertaining to, or belonging to an ethnic group characterized by dark skin pigmentation," is followed by other definitions which equate blackness with desolation, gloom, and wickedness. In fact, its ninth entry reads: "without any moral light or goodness, evil, wicked."

Conversely, *Random House Dictionary* follows its third definition "(of human beings) marked by slight pigmentation of the skin, esp. Caucasoid," by such explanations as "morally pure, innocent, without malice, and harmless."

Other examples of disreputable terms associated with the idea of blackness in the Random Dictionary are as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| blackball | —a negative vote |
| black book | —a book or name of people liable to censure a punishment |
| black eye | —a mark of *shame,* dishonor |
| Black Friday | —any Friday on which a misfortune occurs |
| blackguard | —a low contemptible person |
| blackhearted | —disposed to doing or wishing evil |
| black letter day | —an unlucky or tragic day |
| black list | —a list of persons under suspicion |
| black mark | —an indication of failure or censure |
| blacky | —a Negro |

Citron (*3*), concurs. He says:

> Reared in a culture in which racial ideology is deeply embedded, white children learn that skin color is connected with status. Children learn that skin color is salient, that it is an important symbol, and the white children learn that light skin colors are accepted and associated with good and honored things while darker skin colors are rejected and associated with bad and dishonorable fearful things.
>
> The signs, language, rewards and punishments, behaviors of referent adults, peer group norms, and behavior, all tell the white child that the people who matter are his color.
>
> In a white section of the city, in suburbia, or in the countryside (other than the South), all people except some domestic workers and lawn service workers are white.
>
> The white child's world of fantasy and fairies is a white world. Alice is white in a white Wonderland. A main symbol is the white rabbit, hurrying in a thoroughly white, middle-class way, to keep a nameless Kafkaesque appointment and feeling dread lest he be late.
>
> The world of nursery rhymes is a white world. From Old Mother Hubbard, Mary and her lamb, Little Miss Muffet through Tom, Tom, the Piper's Son, The Little Old Man All Clad in Leather, all is a white world. Snow White is, of course, white, as are the dwarfs and the rescuing prince. Make no mistake, Little Boy Blue is white. All Fairyland is white, as is, despite its gaudy colors and odd shapes, the Land of Oz. Dorothy and the Wizard, Glinda and the Good, and the Shaggy Man, are white. Jack of the Beanstalk is white and his giant, too. Cinderella is white as is her wondrous fairy godmother, and again the Prince. White children feel that all princes are white and that they should ride beautiful white horses.
>
> For the white child the world of heroes is white. The greatly admired virtues in our culture of intrepidity and physical bravery are white virtues. The great panoply of heroes, warrior kings, knights, and fighting men is a roster of Caucasians: Prometheus, Leonides, Hercules, Achilles, Ulysses, Samson, Alexander the Great, Horatius, Beowulf, Siegfried, King Arthur, Lancelot, Charlemagne, Roland, William Tell, Robin Hood, and so on in a lengthy list, down to modern times.

Del Rio (7) concurs with Citron when he says:

> The white child in our society . . . is instilled with prevailing thinking on race relations, through language, and this thinking is difficult to overcome once the roots of the language have imbedded themselves into pliant minds. The child carries into adulthood the various connotations, mainly unfavorable, of the word "black" that he has garnered through the years.

Seventy-two years ago Dubois (*10*) tried to describe how such hostile concepts and subtle rejections brutalize Afro-Americans and cause them to perceive themselves as aliens in a racist society. He said:

> It is a peculiar sensation, this double-consciousness, this sense of always looking at one's self through the eyes of others, of measuring one's soul by the tape of a world that looks on in amused contempt and pity. One ever feels his twoness—an American, a Negro—two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings; two warring ideals in one dark body, whose dogged strength alone keeps it from being torn asunder.

In 1960 Lytton (*22*) wrote these words to describe the way a modern black man feels when he has been subtly ill-treated and dehumanized:

> There's no need to put it all down. It's just that one day, at this beach, when the sun was shining like somebody had lighted it that morning for the first time and there's a cool breeze coming off the sea and the winter was just going, on that day I sat on that rock out of *their* sight and . . . oh my God . . . I cried like a baby. The first time I cried like that. I couldn't stop it coming. I cursed and swore every swear word I knew but it came just the same. It was a very deep shame in me for a long time after because I could not stop it. God damn the white man for the shame he made in me. God damn him!

In 1964 comedian Dick Gregory (*12*) astounded many Americans by defiantly choosing the inflammatory word *nigger* as the title of his autobiography. Gregory explained that he selected the epithet as a protest against "a system where a white man can destroy a black man by shouting the single word *nigger*."

Gregory dedicated his chronicle of despair and elation to his deceased mother with these words:

> Dear Mama—
> Wherever you are,
> if ever you hear the word "nigger"
> again, remember they are advertising
> my book.

Educators, alone, cannot change a system which condemns a man because of the color of his skin. However, they can help speed the coming of that long awaited day, of which the martyred leader Dr. Martin Luther King (*19*) spoke that day "... when his four little children could live in a nation where they will not be judged by the color of their skin but by the content of their character."

Teachers who are sincere about making education relevant to Afro-American youth must first become cognizant that black people are not acting paranoid when they speak of racism which exists in our language and literature.

With the long overdue emergence of black pride which is dramatically sweeping America "from sea to shining sea" one cannot stress, vehemently enough, the overt hostility which Afro-American youth feel toward biased writing which negates their existence. The newly acquired sense of worth espoused by our youth demands books and supplementary instructional aids which reinforce their self-esteem and raise their aspirational levels. They resent being systematically written out of American literature, and they, and their parents, are demanding that publishers correct these "sins of omission" now.

As Bennett (*1*) eloquently explains

> ... we must understand that black people have been made Orwellian non-persons in the symbolic world projected by textbook writers. In most textbooks now in use, black Americans appear suddenly by a process of spontaneous generation. There is little or no material on the great African confrontation with the history of black and brown people before the explosion of Europe in the fifteenth century. In order to oppress people you have to tie them up either with ropes or words.

> Symbolic segregation performs this function by subjecting black people to abstract lynchings, all of which are designed to keep them down and out. Symbolic segregation also justifies and perpetuates spatial segregation. In fine, the exclusion of black people from textbooks is part of the general effort to exclude them from American life.

To correct the fallacies, misconceptions, and lies of the past, educators who intend to instruct black youth must become knowledgeable about the myriad contributions which have been made by countless black poets, artists, scientists, politicians, athletes, musicians, and inventors. In order to convey convincingly this information to disbelieving youth, educators must provide black heroes with whom students can proudly identify. Teachers must present authentic success symbols from the past and present to black youth, to whom they can turn for solace, inspiration, direction, and hope.

To eradicate the damage and self-hatred that has been inflicted upon black Americans and perpetuated by negative impressions and stereotypes of blackness, educators must do more than proclaim "Black is beautiful!" Prideful expressions and bumper stickers on automobiles which exuberantly shout "I'm black and I'm proud" uplift the spirit for a moment but they bring only ephemeral joy. They in no way eliminate the scar tissue which took years to form on the souls of black Americans.

Teachers must initiate programs which bring the literary and cultural contributions pertaining to the black experience out of the obscurity of curiosa into the mainstream of the classroom. Black pride cannot be instilled by pseudoinformed teachers. (In addition to Booker T. Washington, George Washington Carver, Martin Luther King, Bill Cosby, Sammy Davis, Jr., Langston Hughes, and Sidney Poitier, how many black heroes do you really know?)

During this current social revolution, events are occurring faster than materials related to these crises-situations can be written to interpret them. In lieu of available and appropriate commercial publications, many educators, locally and nationally, are writing their own materials. For example:

> During the desolate hours after the brutal assassination of

> Martin Luther King, Norman Nickens, an exceptionally perceptive administrator in Washington, D.C., schools, sent a memorandum to the teachers in his model schools reminding them that during such turbulent times classes simply "could not be held as usual."
>
> Mr. Nickens recommended that those traumatic hours should be devoted to listening to the children's ideas, allowing them to express their anguish, hostility, and fear, orally or in writing.
>
> The classroom teachers understood their students' unrest and were creative enough to provide them a supportive climate in which they felt free to confide their anxieties and despair.
>
> The childrens' poignant comments were preserved in a memorable booklet entitled *The Children of Cardoza Tell It Like It Is!*

In several Detroit secondary schools the establishment of reading adventure rooms, stocked with attractive paperback books, has served as a catalyst to motivate reluctant readers to explore the exciting world of literature. Many of the publications are by or about black writers. Available to teachers, but primarily selected for students, the attractive paperback collections are maintained through federal funds and through gratis distributions from the Ludington News Company in Detroit. In the area of curriculum, teachers have in many instances taken the initiative to request and start new programs for disadvantaged students in their schools.

Last year six educational activists in the English department of Mackenzie High School, in Detroit's black ghetto, banded together to explore ways to make the curriculum of their school more relevant to their students. Subsidized by federal funds, they outlined goals, techniques, and materials for the implementation of black studies courses in literature.

The six enthusiastic teachers met for months reading poetry, novels, essays, short stories, biographies, and autobiographies, as well as critiques and reviews by and about black writers. Consultants were invited in to share their expertise and assist in evaluating materials.

An outgrowth of an all-day Saturday meeting with the language education supervisor of Title I schools was the development of a strategy for involving other faculty members. Working together, the group wrote goals for the innovative studies and constructed a questionnaire for teachers to elicit their attitudes about the proposed curricular changes and to determine whether other teachers also desired to participate in the experiment.

An informal inventory based on self-image as it related to race was also written for the students by the author for the purpose of discerning feeling tones of the youth, in addition to discovering the extent of their knowledge of black writers.

In the process of establishing goals for teachers and students, it became apparent that a need existed for two separate types of programs focusing on black literature: One program to consist of teaching Afro-American writers, as a supplement to the existing course of study; the second in-depth course to concentrate exclusively on black authors and their contributions.

When the program was finalized, the classes which introduced black literature, as an addendum, were taught by a core of skilled Afro-American and Caucasian teachers. The courses that focused entirely on Afro-American literature as a separate entity was taught by a magnetic, black English instructor whose intimate experiences with both black and white American culture uniquely qualified him to interpret to his students the pathos of the ghetto and the hostility of white racism.

Many other Detroit schools are adapting their existing reading programs and literature courses to include writings by and about Afro-Americans. Others—like Cass High school which is a magnet school for inner- and outer-city students—are experimenting with black studies as a separate course. The classes are enjoying phenomenal success since this bibliotherapeutic approach teaches white youth about significant black contributions while serving as an incentive for black students to search of their own identity. Both black and white youth are learning historical truths which give them insights into the underlying grievances and frustrations of militant black Americans in the ghettos of the sixties. The institution of slavery and its aftermath has been a revelation to them, as documented in fact and fiction.

The facts are irrefutable, even in 1970. Black ain't beautiful! Some say progress has been made. Agreed. But consider the price (*15*).

> We have come over a way that with tears has been watered;
> We have come treading our path thro' the blood of slaughtered
> We will still keep pressing on
> For it is better to die for a dream, than to live as a cipher.
> We must not stop until victory is finally won!

In place of tears for our civil rights martyrs, such as Medgar Evers, Malcom X, and Martin Luther King, Jr., we have grown keloid tissue on our souls. In silent supplication we have vowed ever to remember them and to fight to make their dreams reality.

The scientists tell us that on December 21, the winter solstice comes and two minutes of daylight are added to each day's round of 24 hours. It doesn't seem like very much when those two minutes of daylight are successively, continuously, and persistently applied, but after a while what happens? The old earth's crust begins to thaw, little blades of grass begin to push their way up through the sod, the trees and flowers begin to take on green verdure, the voice of the turtle is heard throughout the land, and we discover almost without perception that spring has come. All because of two minutes of daylight (*33*).

What would happen in your classroom if two minutes of empathy, daily, were operative in your schools? If those two minutes of empathy were continuously, successively, and persistently applied, is it posible that, after a while, understanding would begin to sprout in the minds of your students? Would they begin to grow into functioning, compassionate, human beings? Is it too much to hope that, one day, we will see the springtime of our aspirations for poverty's children materialize?

The Kerner report (*17*) graphically documents the momentous problems of today's black immigrants in our cities. It indicates that disadvantaged youth and their parents understand with clarity what many white Americans have never fully understood: that ". . . white society is deeply implicated in the ghetto and the de facto segregation of its schools. White institutions created it, white institutions maintain it, and white society condones it."

No, blackness still is not beautiful in the minds and hearts of many Americans. We delude ourselves if we persist in believing that blackness is now exalted. Negative connotations are still more prevalent in language and literature today than positive associations. Textbooks, magazines, and television overtly and/or inadvertently are guilty of perpetuating repulsive stereotypes of blacks as grossly inept, ugly, inferior beings. As educators, it is incumbent upon us to accept the challenge of the current social revolution which insists that we correct these distortions, misconceptions, and lies now.

Our salvation as a nation is imperiled unless we find creative ways to revitalize our schools and society, to reach the alienated Americans in our inner-city slums *while there is still time*. Our survival literally depends upon it. For at this moment many disillusioned, young, black militants in our midst, are set to detonate—they are like a time bomb ticking in the heart of the richest nation in the history of the world (*18*). Surely, we who have the superior skill required to send astronauts to the moon and the determination to do so, must have the intestinal fortitude and creativity to find answers to the ills in our schools and cities.

> Where methods and materials fail, humanitarians often succeed.
>
> For it is not the critic who counts; not the man who points out how the strong man stumbled, or where the doer of deeds could have done better. The credit belongs to the man who is actually in the arena; whose face is marred by dust and sweat and blood; who strives valiantly; who errs and comes short again; who knows the great enthusiasms, the great devotions, and spends himself in a worthy cause; who at the best knows in the end the triumph of high achievement; and who at the worst, if he fails, at least fails while daring greatly (*4*).

Misinformed white youth and disillusioned black youth must be presented with the true picture of the accomplishments of Afro-Americans from slavery to freedom. We must help them discover that despite almost insurmountable odds black men have survived, excelled, and made magnificent contributions to the culture and glory of America.

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## SOME RURAL APPLICATIONS

# The Impact of Federal Programs on Learning to Read in Appalachia

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KENTUCKY ranks 37th in size among all the states and 10th in size among the southern states. The greatest distance east-west is 350 miles and north-south, 175 miles. Its eastern border touches the Appalachian Mountains.

The Appalachian Plateau extends from New York to Alabama. In Kentucky, it is also called the Cumberland Plateau. This large triangular region consists of mountain ridges, plateaus, valleys, rivers, and streams. The mountains are part of the Appalachian system. The Cumberland and Pine Mountains, Kentucky's chief ranges, rise along the southeastern border of the state.

Today each of Kentucky's 120 counties is a separate school district. There are 84 independent school districts within these county districts. The state department of education administers Kentucky's public school system.

Economic growth depends to a large degree on educational excellence. While assistance to Appalachia can be provided from outside the region, the primary drive for recovery must originate within its own boundaries. Educational resources to mount that drive are inadequate since the region has not produced a sufficient number of educated persons. It lacks the tax base to provide funds for adequate educational support.

For every 100 persons over 25 years of age in the United States, eight have failed to finish five years of school. In Appalachia, that figures rises to more than eleven. Although the level of educational attainment in the Appalachian portions of three states is above the national average, in the remainder of these states the percentage of persons failing to finish five years of school ranges from 11 percent to

22 percent. It is estimated that 1½ million Appalachia inhabitants are functionally illiterate.

Thirty-two out of every 100 Appalachians over 25 have finished high school, contrasted to 42 persons of similar age elsewhere. No section of Appalachia reaches the national norm for the rest of the United States, and one state dips to 58 percent below that norm.

## A Cooperative Endeavor

In a twenty county area of Kentucky, designated as Region VII, a project in computer assisted instruction is being introduced to elementary school children through Title III of the 1965 Elementary and Secondary Education Act. The project is administered by the Eastern Kentucky Educational Development Corporation. The corporation, established by local superintendents to implement educational innovations in Region VII, is administered by a board of directors representing 37 school districts of the region. Through the cooperative efforts and combined resources of the 20 counties in the region, the project provides school children with a program of individual computer-assisted instruction specifically designed to personalize the child's learning experiences. It assists, enriches, and supplements regular instruction. Since this approach is new, it serves as inservice training for teachers. It shows the community an exemplary model of technological advancement in education.

Much material dealing with programs and better understanding of children has been provided for administrators and staff members who work with disadvantaged learners.

The federal programs have helped to point out some specific weaknesses in the education of slow or reluctant learners: 1) lack of training of teachers in the reading program and 2) lack of understanding of the disabled learner by the teachers.

Other services which have been incorporated into the upgrading of the reading and language arts programs have been the purchasing of books and materials in abundance, reducing pupil-teacher ratios, improved training of teachers through inservice programs, and more concern and understanding in adapting the academic programs to the learner with special learning disadvantages.

Literary deprivation in the area has been passed on from generation to generation. Many attitudes of the child living in isolation have been acquired over a period of time as a by-product of his limited experiences.

Since feelings of inadequacy in perception and response have been built over a period of years, the teacher has been placed in the role of developing a more realistic self-analysis on the part of each slow or reluctant learner.

When a child enters school, he brings a set of attitudes which he has acquired from the situations in which he has been involved. These situations provide the background for his reasoning and reacting.*

Realizing that socially disadvantaged children enter school with limited language ability, less perceptual ability, and less social abilities than possessed by advantaged children, special emphasis has been placed to help provide them with greater opportunities for enrichment.

In order to acquaint teachers with an awareness of the shortcomings in the early educational background of the disadvantaged learner, the Title I office has held meetings with teachers and brought in specialists to speak and to advise. It was felt that a better understanding of educational gaps of the disadvantaged child could provide programs of instructions which could meet the needs of the individual learner more adequately.

Title I reading programs have been extended into the summer in order to help the child from the disadvantaged area gain more skills in becoming independent in dealing with the complexities of reading.

Resource centers located in strategic areas of the state have provided materials to meet the needs of students. Instructional materials have been provided to help encourage the learner who possesses specific disabilities. Great emphasis has been placed on library services to area schools.

Reading material is being developed to help provide the child with a language which is not alien to his culture and environment. Teachers working in the package-kit program have expressed enthusiasm for this supplement.

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* King, B. T., and Janis L. King. "The Influence of Role Playing on Opinion Change," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 49 (1954) 211-218.

The children who attend school in Eastern Kentucky do not always have the shiniest blackboard, or the newest desks, or the most modern school buildings, but, when learning is the most valuable product, emphasis cannot always be placed on the prettiness of things.

Various kinds of centers for the correction of reading difficulties have been established. One system preferred to refer to its program as the reading improvement center. Some school systems used mobile trailers to serve rural areas. In each instance, children are being provided special equipment to meet their individual needs.

Reading laboratories on wheels were made available to a school, or a special reading room with proper equipment, shelving, and reading materials was provided. Laboratories on wheels can serve different areas. Special reading teachers have been responsible for testing, diagnosing, and evaluating.

Reading consultants have coordinated entire programs, with the help of social workers who have served as liaison between home and school. Speech and hearing therapists have helped in screening, diagnosing, and referring children with speech or hearing problems.

A child-study program is well underway. The interest that is shown throughout Region VI is evidence of the increased desire that Appalachian teachers have for a better understanding of their children.

In Region VI, a new program was started, called "Bibliobuddies." In the program, each child has a book buddy. A mother or another adult aids a child and becomes his buddy by visiting the school about twice a week. Buddies encourage interest in reading and other language arts. A definite upsurge in the number of books read and library withdrawals have been noted. The "Bibliobuddies" program is to be expanded to include more grades and thus involve more children. The term buddies was used because of the involvement of some older students, particularly those planning college careers to become teachers. In some counties, because of the remoteness of homes from school, the buddies are older students more often than parents. The program has been accepted and is relatively inexpensive. It has the merit of involving more parents and others outside the school system and is adaptable for use anywhere.

Effort has been expended to make each functioning unit of the educational program more effective. School board members, school librarians, kindergarten teachers, grade teachers, high school teachers, guidance personnel, language laboratory technicians, all have contributed to its success. Challenges to speed efforts in making intelligent changes and surveys are being initiated. Real enthusiasm has been generated, an enthusiasm which leads logically to a deeper commitment to upgrade basic understanding and learning.

Child development, inquiry training, programed learning, and educational psychology have helped teachers to understand the entire teaching-learning process.

Much enthusiasm has been expressed for the services of the teacher aide program. With aides, teachers have more time to work with the specific needs of learners. Nonteaching duties are assigned to aides. The aide has been most helpful in securing supplies and books, helping children in keeping records, listening to children read, helping them to locate and use specific materials, reading to the children, and helping them to develop their language skills.

Inservice programs have been geared to improving the values and beliefs of teachers about themselves and about their relationships and responsibilities to the disadvantaged. Exposed to new experiences under a new atmosphere, teachers are becoming more responsive to change.

More activities in extending and enriching the world of understanding cause the children to become more involved in the academic learning process. Excursions and trips are providing a wealth of special activities for extending childrens' understanding of the real world about them. They also provide material for classroom activities and discussions.

A Title III Language Arts Material Center will be opened as an added service to Region VI, which serves much of the Appalachian area.

Twice each month, a workshop is held at the center for the teachers, supervisors, or other interested personnel from all 18 counties. The consultants for these workshops are specialists from Kentucky and other states.

The center attempts to have the latest and most widely used materials in reading and related subjects from preschool to high school level. Teachers examine these materials and take them to classrooms to use with students for limited periods. Students' responses serve as criteria in evaluating the materials used.

Included in the materials center is a compilation of the most frequently used as well as the latest tests. These tests range from perceptual and readiness tests for preschool children to reading diagnostic tests on the college level. Intelligence tests and achievement tests are also included.

The following are some activities from counties in the Appalachian area.

## Federal Programs in Clay County

The reading program as it now exists in Clay County would be impossible without government aid. Eleven reading teachers are employed under Title I. They serve more than half of the 5,500 children in the county and act as consultants to the regular classroom teachers. The special reading teacher works with remedial students and also in team-teaching with the regular classroom teachers.

In addition to paying personnel, government funds have been used to buy a wealth of material, much of it especially for the reading program. Overhead projectors, controlled readers, record players, tape recorders, and other pieces of equipment could not have been provided through regular school funding.

There is a well-equipped reading center in each of the consolidated schools, with two centers each in one of the larger elementary schools and the high school.

Title I has provided materials in sufficient quantity and of highest quality to support an excellent reading program, both in the remedial centers and in the regular classroom. The materials in the centers are under the supervision of the reading teacher but are available to any teacher in the school.

The reading program relies heavily on books from the library, many of which were purchased with government funds made available under Title II. Books have also been purchased for the reading centers. The entire library of paperbacks from the Scholastic Press has been purchased for the reading centers. There is always a great demand for these books, and the circulation of them has been tremendous.

Expendable supplies essential to a vital reading program have been provided, also. Materials for duplication are available.

Services of teacher aides have enabled the teachers to provide a more enriched program of reading for their students. The aides have improved the reading program by releasing the teachers to do more planning and preparation of materials for lessons. Aides have typed or prepared written work for the teachers and, under the teacher's supervision, have corrected papers.

Government funds have also made possible some invaluable in-service training for school personnel, particularly those involved in reading. Title III sponsored a pilot project at one of the elementary schools. So successful was this project that it has affected the whole technique of teaching reading in this school and has spread to a lesser degree to all the other schools. Expert consultants were provided who introduced new methods of teaching and gave needed guidance in the implementation of these methods. An all-day workshop was held which gave several members of the staff training in the technique of interaction analysis.

The influence of the project and the workshop in the teaching of reading has been great in that the quality of teaching has improved. Special training was provided for the remedial teachers when they were first employed, and this training has provided the impetus for new developments in the field of reading in our schools.

Use of the videotape recorder resulted in an increased interest in reading and in providing stimulation. Actual classes in reading have been taped and viewed by both teachers and students, increasing interest and motivating greater effort on the part of the teacher to provide more effective lessons.

Supplies of paper and other duplicating materials have helped the reading program in all our schools. In fact, there is almost no phase of the reading program which has not been influenced for the better by programs instituted by the various titles.

Consultants from our state universities have been employed through Title III to do regular inservice with the special reading teachers and their team teachers.

The aides are also being given, for the first time, an intensive inservice training program under the direction of consultants.

## Freeburn Grade School Program in Pike County, Kentucky

After testing the children in May of 1966, it was found that very few of the 340 students were up to their grade level in reading. At this time, plans were made for the summer remedial reading program to be held at the Phelps High School. The summer program at Phelps was so successful that it was decided to use a similar method of teaching reading throughout the regular term. Using this method, the children were divided into groups according to their reading level. At first, age and grade were not considered in making the decision. However, after the classes started, the shift of a few children was made because of size, age, or social or emotional problems.

The children were divided into fourteen groups. They were given one hour of reading instruction each morning. All materials stressed vocabulary building and word meaning. At the end of nine weeks, the children were tested with the Gates Comprehension and Vocabulary Test. Then they were re-grouped to form sixteen sections. Every child had shown some improvement. Those with the highest IQ's had shown the most improvement. For the next nine weeks, a different plan was used. Each weekly lesson plan was to reach all areas of reading—vocabulary, word attack skills, dictionary skills, and comprehension. Sometime during each week was to be spent in oral reading and the enjoyment of good literature. Good penmanship was required at all levels as well as the use of good sentence structure in answering questions.

No grades were given for the hour of instruction in reading each morning, but praise was extended to the children. Not one child refused to go to his class. Surveys proved that the students approved the reading experience and profited greatly from the exercises.

In April of 1967, the Gates Test on Following Directions and Noting Details was administered. The results were highly favorable. After that, re-grouping took place. Two divisions were arranged—one group consisted of those on or above grade level and the other, below grade level. These two groups were then subdivided into several other levels according to need. Those above grade level were placed in larger groups than those below grade level. The larger groups were permitted to do a great deal of free reading, poetry enjoyment, and other types of enrichment activity.

The overhead projector, film strips, and programed reading equipment were used. Those who were below grade level were placed in small groups and were given additional instruction in the fundamentals of reading. The sixteen teachers who participated in the plan described here liked the new approach, and the standardized test results indicated remarkable progress for the girls and boys.

### Floyd County

1. Greater emphasis and understanding of individual differences resulted.
2. Inservice for teachers brought about better understanding of courses in reading disability and means to attack courses.
3. Insight into new methods and techniques for teaching reading were gained.
4. Provisions were made to obtain materials geared to working with educationally deprived children.
5. Social workers were employed to search and correct causes of reading disabilities and to gain insight in understanding the child's home and family problems.
6. Children with most severe disability were given greater amount of individual attention.

Home visitations required of teachers brought greater amount of understanding of the child, home, and family. Specialized areas of instruction were offered for the first time in art, music, and physical education.

## Pineville Independent

The elementary library, through Title I funds, has become a well-equipped and well-staffed part of the school program. Through a qualified librarian, the library plays a great part in conjunction with the Title I remedial program.

## Greenup Independent

A sixth grade girl of low IQ was practically a nonreader. After work in simple phonics, the child learned to read simple books without help. This was the first time she had ever read a book by herself, and the pride and joy in her eyes were indescribable.

Children, enjoying coming to reading class said, "We do such 'fun' things. It's fun here, much better than reading."

Children gained in interest and confidence, success in an area that can't be measured. Some of the intangible benefits from the reading program were 1) The students gained self-respect; 2) they had a better feeling about school and, in many cases, attendance improved; 3) they had a feeling of success and accomplishment; 4) these students became better citizens and discipline problems diminished.

## Conclusion

These modest beginnings have touched many children and have set the stage for massive mobilization of effort. Four characteristics mark the activity of upsurge of educational leadership:

1. Movement toward greater individualization of programs to account for diversity in the personality, ability, and experience of each student.
2. Movement toward maximum active participation by the student in the learning process.

3. The adoption of an experimental attitude among school people in initiating, evaluating, and modifying new curricula.
4. Movement toward a more flexible and efficient use of personnel and facilities.

These characteristics interlock and overlap in many cases.

The ragged edge of progress would show these programs to be in different stages of development—some embryonic, some showing progress, and none really accepted as ideal.

If we are committed to the proposition that each man must ultimately make his individual contribution to society, then our task becomes not one of molding similarity but one of stimulating individuality. A realistic balance must be struck between twin commitments to the education of each and the education of all of its children.

Through careful testing and diagnosis, teachers are learning more about developing readiness for learning in the early grades. Flexible grouping for instruction makes possible greater individual help. The results of laboratory experimentation are applied directly to the children in the classroom, the ultimate benefactors of that experimentation. It seems that it would be well to concentrate much effort on helping the gifted learner, also. Children with demonstrated emotional problems need individual programs designed to develop readiness. Groups need to be organized where special emphasis may be placed on motor development, listening skills, visual perception, cognitive development, and verbal expression.

Federal programs have brought about much self-evaluation on the part of educators and those dealing with administration.

Better planned coordination has been achieved between the local and state educational agencies. Title I funds have been used for consultants who have worked to help faculties realize the new approaches for working with children who are classified as children with education handicaps.

The compensatory education programs, run under Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, are beginning to pay off in improved learning by poor children.

The programs, which cost billions a year, are designed to provide services over and above what the schools in disadvantaged areas normally supply. In 1966-1967 the report says Title I programs have prevented many disadvantaged youngsters from falling behind their more fortunate peers. In the past, school children in poor areas fell further behind each year. Also, Title I youngsters are now attaining higher levels of achievement on reading tests. In addition, the dropout rate in Title I schools has decreased; more Title I youngsters are continuing their education beyond high school.

The report stresses, however, that the Title I child is still far behind the average student and that the achievement gap between educationally deprived children and those from middle-income homes is still great. "Title I's billion dollars could not, by itself, solve the problems last year."

# The Wheeler County Education Improvement Project Story

**Ruth Allen Bond**
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THE WHEELER COUNTY Education Improvement Project was conceived by John E. Codwell and developed with the assistance of other members of the School Improvement Committee of the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools. This committee was directing action research projects in urban centers and, early in 1965, entertained the idea of expanding its education improvement projects to include centers in rural areas.

Each rural education improvement project, sponsored by the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools and funded by the Danforth and Noyes Foundations, is a consortium of educational institutions, organizations, and agencies. The Wheeler County consortium also includes the Georgia State Department of Education, Albany State College, and Georgia Southern College. Representatives from these components comprise the governing board, the policy making board to give direction and support in project implementation, and the teacher education council, who provide leadership for interaction between teacher-training institutions and the public schools.

The major objectives of the rural education improvement project are the following:

1. To identify through appropriate vehicles of demonstration the relative effectiveness of a number of interventions designed to interrupt the vicious cycle of accumulated deficits in "learning" skills and in "learning to learn" skills which disadvantaged pupils in rural areas tend to manifest.
2. To demonstrate the interrelatedness of the child-family-community-school complex by showing that as rural-school youngsters improve their academic performance, parents,

teachers, and lay citizens also improve their understanding of and empathy toward these children and the degree of disadvantage they manifest.

3. To demonstrate that, when the research findings and theoretical concepts of college and university personnel are blended with the practical know-how of elementary and secondary school educators, the pupils affected reap a combination of benefits which neither university personnel nor public school educators working separately can provide.

Initially, the chief state school officer was asked to identify a rural school system which demonstrated both need and the interest to agree to undertake a program of school improvement. Wheeler County was selected for the project, The Wheeler County Extended School Year, with the advice of the Georgia State Department of Education on the basis of these factors:

1. That its needs and problems are typical of those of rural systems in the state.
2. That the educational leadership in the county is such that an effective project would be undertaken.
3. That the public climate is receptive to innovative programs (*3*).

The Wheeler County Education Improvement Project is one of the three projects in the South designed to provide rural education improvement programs proportionate to those operating in urban centers and to demonstrate that rural school improvement in the deep South is an educational concern, not an educational neglect (*2*).

## Rationale

In rural communities, schools remain the center of hope for the development of behavior necessary for significant survival in the Great Society (*2*). Investigation into the need for improvement in rural schools showed the following:

1. More than three million of the rural poor are illiterate.

2. The educational competence necessary for today's world is unattainable in the conventionally operated rural school. ("Yet, the pupils in these schools deserve an opportunity to achieve the education commonly referred to as the birthright of *all* Americans.")
3. Very little in the way of special programs and activities has been done in the deep South to modify or transform traditional rural education procedures into dynamic, experiential, relevant programs and ways of working (*1*).

The Educational Improvement Committee hypothesized that the rural school, on the one hand the bearer of a number of educational limitations, and on the other hand the possessor of some educational strengths, *can* be a *good* school but stipulated that the degree to which the rural school becomes and remains a good school depends very largely on the school's sensitivity to the following three basic assumptions:

1. *Change in instructional organization* can result in improvement of the educational performance of rural area pupils.
2. *Modifying classroom instructional techniques* can result in improvement of the educational performance of rural area pupils.
3. When an educational leader in a rural area school system becomes an active agent for creating change in instructional organization and methodology, there inevitably results improvement in the educational performance for the pupils concerned (*2*).

## Basic Demographic Data

Wheeler County is a county of moderate size among the Georgia counties which are, in general, rather small. It is located somewhat southeast of the geographic center of the state in the "piney woods" section of Georgia. In population it ranks 145th. In 1960 the population of the county was 5,342. The largest centers of population in the county, and the only ones of any significance, are the county seat, Alamo, with a 1960 population of 822, and Glenwood with 684. In common with 90 other Georgia counties, Wheeler County lost population between 1950 and 1960. Its rate of loss of population (20.4 percent) was the twelfth highest among the counties of the state. Official studies have indicated a probable accelerated rate of loss for the next ten years. Recent development of industries in neighboring counties and an influx of new residents to Wheeler County, incident to this, may well modify this prediction. The aforementioned study, however, foresees a population of the county of 3,800 in 1975 or a loss of almost 30 percent in the 15-year period from 1960. During this same period the state as a whole is expected to gain almost 50 percent.

The current population of the county is approximately two-thirds white and one-third Negro. This proportion has remained relatively constant; the shrinkage of population has affected both races in equal measure. It is anticipated that future decline will show a similar picture. This proportion of Negroes is slightly higher than is the case with the state as a whole (about 28 percent).

Of the 1,757 employed persons residing in the county, there were approximately equal numbers in the three main categories of resource, product, and service. This distribution represents a substantial shift since 1950 when almost two-thirds were in the resource occupations, mainly farming, but increasingly, forestry. This shift results, in major part, from the abandonment and consolidation of farms with the resultant emigration of these persons from the county. Most of the employed persons are male.

The median family income in the county in 1959 was $2,270, slightly over half the median family income for the state as a whole. Although low, it represented an increase of 129.6 percent over the previous decade, a rate of increase slightly higher than that of the state as a whole (121.2 percent). This increase is due in part to the decrease in farm employment which is near the bottom of the income scale. Per capita income was $1,040 in 1960; that for the state was $1,610.

There are fifteen industrial plants in the county; most of these are small wood product mills, and only two employ more than 20 workers. Of 1,533 residential units in the county 813 were owner-occupied, 524 renter-occupied, and 196 vacant. Almost half were classified as deteriorating or dilapidated; more than half were over forty years old.

Of the three schools in the county, two are integrated and the other is all Negro. The facilities of the two twelve-grade schools are quite similar and reasonably adequate, at least in comparison with those of other rural Georgia systems.

The average level of education of the adult population is the seventh grade; that for the state is the eighth grade. The average for the Negro population is almost three and one-half years below that of the white population. This figure represents in both cases an increase of a year of schooling over the average of 1950. Of the white students being graduated from high school in 1960 less than one-fifth entered college; over a third of the Negro high school graduates entered college. (This fact should be balanced against the fact that 39 percent of the Negro students drop out of school between the eighth and eleventh grades while only 6 percent of the white students drop out during this period.)

The statistics on the level of preparation of teachers follow statewide averages closely. Until the introduction of the Wheeler County Education Improvement Program, a higher proportion of Negro teachers held five- or six-year certificates than did the white teachers.

The people of Wheeler County center their support on the schools and churches, since these two institutions form the focal point of the social life of the county. There is evident desire among the parents that their children have better educational opportunities and thereby be able to increase their economic status. This concern not only supports whatever program the Wheeler County Board of Education regularly provides but encourages continuous expansion and improvement; there was ready acceptance when the project was proposed.

Pupils participating in the rural education program have access to a variety of interventions. The intervention components of the Wheeler County center follow:

1. Continuous progress in learning
2. Developmental and remedial reading

3. An integrated industrial-technical education program
4. Focus on learning-to-learn skills
5. Family involvement
6. School-home-community agent
7. Teacher education
8. Nonprofessional staff aides
9. Cultural enrichment

Implementation of these nine interventions is resulting in a major reconstruction of the total school program, and changes have taken place so rapidly that the slogan, "Wheels Are Turning in Wheeler," has been adopted. The project not only purports to fulfill the need and desire for better educational opportunities in the local system but also to be a catalyst for the improvement of public education everywhere, since a small school setting contains the built-in potential for flexibility in scheduling and innovative programing (*2*).

## Interventions

*Continuous progress in learning.* The chief concern of the Wheeler project is the Wheeler County child. Personnel strive continuously to determine what can be done to help each boy and girl to improve his concept of self and others and to grow in accord with his unique pattern of development. After an assessment of each child's status is made, a program is planned to place him in environments and experiences that insure continuous progress, each step built on previous steps. In order that the superstructure be valid with no step needing repetition, initial steps must be solid and no step omitted.

Success in school experiences helps develop "I can" attitudes and other more positive attitudes toward self and school, by-products of which are the child's own determination to learn, parents' encouragement, and realistic teacher expectation.

In an effort to provide successful learning experiences at an early age, planned kindergarten activities are considered an important component.

Programing is a continual process based on continual appraisal. At any given time, a teacher strives to know where each student is with respect to knowledge, significant concepts, skills, and interests and to prescribe for him a program paced to insure continuous progress.

*Developmental and remedial reading.* The intensified reading program which emphasizes both developmental and remedial reading represents a specific educational treatment administered to pupils. A variety of methods and materials aim at quality and content. Level and rate are adjusted to the different learning style and individual needs of students.

The reading specialist coordinates the program by planning with and aiding reading teachers, as well as classroom teachers, in improving reading skills of pupils, keeping abreast of current research findings, and integrating community resources.

Much attention is given to knowing the child's verbal behavior. Informal and standardized tests are administered; teachers observe and evaluate pupil progress in reading and other areas; the school-home-community agent studies attendance and dropout records and home conditions; and counselors help with assessing children's attitudes toward self and school. The services of the total school personnel, especially the speech therapist and creative drama specialist, are utilized to provide activities and services that promote language development, speech improvement, and general verbal intelligence.

Remediation is concerned with specific skills deficits, such as word attack skills, phonic skills, auditory and/or visual discrimination, comprehension, perceptual dysfunction, and interpretation.

The reading specialist fosters creative understanding, imaginative effort in teaching and learning, and reading for sheer enjoyment.

*An integrated industrial-technical education program.* As our economy continues to grow and develop and our means of productivity become increasingly complex, the need for more and better skilled and semiskilled craftsmen becomes more apparent. This intervention attempts to extend understanding of current technology and employment procedures and to stimulate students to continue their education in order to be prepared for jobs yet undiscovered.

In addition to the normal activities of vocational agriculture, home economics, business education, and guidance, students are experiencing on-the-job training both off campus and in school work station relations as a part of their regular curriculum.

*Focus on learning-to-learn skills.* A unique feature of the Wheeler project is the way in which it focuses on the development of "learning to learn" skills, including the following:

1. Improving motivation for achievement
2. Raising level of aspiration
3. Providing contact with models who are achievement oriented
4. Improving attention-memory span
5. Developing positive self-image
6. Developing respect for learning and learners
7. Providing a variety of methods, materials, and equipment

In this era of rapid change, the process of learning must receive attention since past and current learnings soon become obsolete.

*Family involvement.* The education of children cannot be divorced from the home. In Wheeler County this fact is recognized, and activities are planned to utilize the combined efforts of the school and home.

Parents participate in parent-teacher associations, support the athletic and literary events, serve on community action committees, contribute to the "clothes bank," chaperon and provide transportation for trips, assist with fund raising activities, help with health clinics, and serve as substitute teachers.

Parents not only want their children to continue their education but they want to upgrade their academic, vocational, and cultural levels. Some parents engage in basic adult education programs; some participate in job training experiences; some are members of a book club; some secure and read books from the bookmobile; some engage in pottery making; and, a few are returning to institutions of higher learning.

*School-home-community agent.* Basic to the development of family involvement is the role of a new person, a school-home-community agent, who is full time liaison between school and home.

The school-home-community agent visits the homes to obtain and record basic information about the family structure, economic situation, health, hygiene, and special problems. This agent records parental attitudes toward education, the schools, and the child.

The school-home-community agent suggests to the parents ways in which they might enforce the efforts of the schools on behalf of their children. The agent interprets to the parents what the schools are trying to do for their children and is ready to supply advice, assistance, and even some materials for this purpose.

When a particular problem arises because of the behavior of a child or a misunderstanding or dissatisfaction on the part of a parent, the agent performs a third party role—liaison between the parent and the school.

*Teacher education.* The implementation of the Wheeler County Education Improvement Project requires initially well-trained teachers who want to continue upgrading their own educations. The teacher education phase includes:

1. An inservice education program which is designed by teachers to meet their felt needs. It takes into account the varying preservice and experiential backgrounds of teachers. Desirable changes in teaching practices are achieved by this blending of theory with practice in on-the-job training.
2. A preservice program which utilizes Wheeler schools as a laboratory for teachers at varying stages of their educational program—student teachers, currently enrolled in college, and regular teachers who are working for self-improvement and/or higher certification.

The teacher education intervention includes not only formal classroom procedures but also envelops attending professional meetings, institutes, and workshops, inter- and intra-school visitation, independent study, travel, and the recently initiated innovation of microteaching.

*Nonprofessional staff aides.* The use of nonprofessional staff aides frees the classroom teacher for higher level duties that are more directly related to the education of the child.

Aides' duties are diverse, depending upon their job assignment. Some specific tasks include clerical work, playground supervision, audio visual equipment distribution, emergency teacher replacement, and bulletin board displays.

*Cultural enrichment.* The cultural enrichment phase of the project is designed to provide opportunities for cultural experiences which are generally lacking in rural areas. In addition to activities planned by regular classroom teachers and school librarians, Wheeler schools employ specialists in art, public school music, band, and creative dramatics. These specialists work with teachers and pupils to help them obtain maximal profit from their experiences. The local school program is supplemented and complemented by bringing to Wheeler schools productions of the Georgia Southern College band, choir, dramatic, and art department; Albany State College Choir; South Georgia College Choir; the Savannah Symphony Orchestra; and other cultural attractions. The community is invited to attend these performances. The people of Wheeler County are encouraged to attend similar attractions in neighboring cities.

## The Summer Module

The characteristic that differentiates the Education Improvement Project in Wheeler County from other education improvement programs is depicted in the title itself: The Wheeler County Extended School Year. Its organizational pattern is the nine-nine module plan, nine months during the regular school year and nine weeks during the summer. The summer module is divided into three, 3-week sessions, and participation on the part of students and teachers is voluntary. A student may attend any or all of the sessions and may come for enrichment or remediation, to extend learning, or to earn unit credit to make it possible to advance through school in the normal (or less) amount of time.

The first summer module utilized educational television as the core of the instructional program and emphasized learning-to-learn skills. The Georgia Educational Television Network depicted the purpose of the summer program by the use of a thirty-minute film, "The Wheeler County Story." This film appeared on three educational television stations.

## Summary

The aim of the Wheeler County Education Improvement Project is not only to turn out graduates with marketable skills but also to produce humane, refined, cultivated citizens with a rational hierarchy of values. Values that help students view education as more than hardcore learning of facts and systems are not learned as a formal discipline but are acquired as an attitude, an appetite, even a tone that prepares the future citizen for a fuller, more satisfying life. This goal is worth the tremendous efforts of all the components of the consortium.

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# The Durham Education Improvement Program*

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THE LONG range purpose of the Durham Education Improvement Program is the development of new organizational patterns and instructional systems in ongoing classrooms in Durham City and County to foster the educational and social development of children whose families have been economically and socially restricted. Not only does the Durham EIP seek to introduce modern school practices which have been shown elsewhere to be beneficial but it seeks to introduce new techniques, materials, and practices which are developed locally by EIP teachers and curriculum specialists.

Another purpose of the Durham EIP is to stimulate North Carolina school superintendents, principals, curriculum supervisors, teachers, school board members, and legislators concerned with educational problems to enter into a broad range of developmental activities in the public schools. The Durham EIP does not propose to suggest ultimate answers to the problems of economic and social deprivation but seeks to demonstrate a variety of alternatives which will suggest ways in which school men and teachers, in cooperation, can continue the task of transforming public education in the southeastern region to overcome the cumulative undesirable effects of separate schooling for blacks and whites and of inadequate financial support of public schools.

In the role of stimulator, EIP is only one of a number of programs or agencies such as Head Start, Follow Through, the community action programs, the Learning Institute of North Carolina, the North Carolina Fund, and the North Carolina Comprehensive

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School Improvement Program, all of which have devoted energies toward the improvement of schools and educational opportunity for all children in North Carolina.

### *The Five-Year Plan*

The original proposal to the Ford Foundation for the Durham EIP projected the creation of a small scale school system in which approximately 200 to 300 children would be enrolled from ages two through ten. This small scale school system would be created as a cooperative effort between the Durham City Schools, Durham County Schools, Duke University, North Carolina College, and Operation Breakthrough—the local community action agency. Two public schools in the city of Durham and one in the county were selected as target area schools since the children attending them came from geographical areas where low income families traditionally resided. In addition to the three target area schools, a fourth city school near Duke University was chosen as a laboratory facility. The city schools had announced plans to close the school as a result of changing residential patterns in Durham.

The overall strategy for the development of the model school system called for development of new organizational patterns, procedures, and techniques of instruction at the laboratory school with a concurrent introduction of tested school practices, such as, team teaching, ungraded instruction, programed learning, and cross-age grouping in the target area schools.

Plans also called for the creation of a series of preschool classes to enroll children from age two through elementary school. A special classroom for very young children was constructed on the school grounds of one of the target area schools, and some available rooms in the basement of the adjacent school were modified to accommodate preschool children. Children selected by random procedures from the preschool population residing in the three target areas were to be enrolled and over the course of the five years were expected to enter the public schools in the same areas.

The effects of the special programs were to be evaluated by a series of tests given before and after each of the special interventions and, in addition, the overall effects of the EIP were to be evaluated by a series of intelligence and achievement tests administered over the full length of each child's involvement in EIP classes.

### *Basic Research Questions*

EIP's research personnel have been concerned with several major questions:

1. What is the pattern of intellectual development of Durham's disadvantaged children—both black and white?
2. In what ways do girls display different patterns from boys?
3. Does intelligence develop at an even rate during the very early period of growth and development from age two through ten?
4. Do disadvantaged children show a steady decline in intellectual growth and development, or is their rate of development uneven?
5. At which chronological age does intervention by EIP have the greatest impact on the intellectual and language development of disadvantaged children?
6. What combination of interventions appears to be most effective in overcoming the debilitating effects of economic and social restrictions?
7. How might public school personnel and responsible laymen, concerned about public education, reorganize or restructure public education to compensate for the characteristic deficits of disadvantaged children?

### *Assumptions Used in Developing Specific Programs in the Durham* EIP

Several basic assumptions have been made as a basis for the introduction of programs for children in ongoing EIP classrooms. The first assumption is that in the absence of overt signs of organic abnormality—such as, mongoloidism, microcephaly, or other specific organic or physiological defect—the children enrolled in EIP classrooms are biologically intact; that many or most of their differences in development are the result of variations in environmental stimulation, health care, nutrition, and social relations; and that changes introduced in their social and physical environment will bring about changes in intellectual, social, and physical development.

A second assumption is that the social learning theories of Bandura and Walters (*1*), Bijou and Baer (*2*), and Skinner (*4*) are relevant as sources of techniques which teachers can use in the classroom to bring about changes in the social behavior of children. It is further assumed that some of the major problems that disadvantaged children have in conventional public school classrooms, problems such as apathy, not paying attention, not following directions, peer interaction which disturbs others and disrupts the instructional program, and resistance to formalized instruction and conventional control techniques, can be overcome by the use of behavior-modification techniques as proposed by Bandura, Bijou, Baer, and Skinner.

The third set of assumptions used in EIP is based upon Piaget's work in tracing the intellectual development of children and the work of curriculum developers such as Taba (*6*) and Gagne (*3*). On the basis of research by these persons and others concerned with concept development and learning, EIP's classroom programs have introduced sequences of encounters with concrete materials and structured environments which are hypothesized to foster exploration, manipulation of physical objects to control sensory inputs in the derivation of concepts about reality, and the construction of products from raw materials available to the child in the classroom environment. The role of language as a means of fostering concept development and communication is emphasized in EIP classrooms. The assumption here is that as language becomes useful to the child in communicating with peers and adults, he enhances his own thought processes and conceptualization of reality. Subsequently, he can convey the quality of his understanding and knowledge more adequately to others. This performance characteristic is highly valued by school personnel and the middle-class culture generally.

### *Performance Outcomes Expected as a Result of* EIP *Programs*

Curricular practices in EIP's preschools and ungraded primaries are predicted to increase the rate of intellectual development to approximate the IQ norms of the population of the United States as a whole and also to enhance language performance and school achievement in reading, writing, spelling, and mathematics to the point equal to or above the average performance of children across the United States. Such achievement would be assessed by standardized measures such as the Illinois Test of Psycholinguistic Abilities and the Metropolitan Achievement Test Battery.

A third hypothesis is that the social performance of children who have participated in EIP classes would be superior to children who have not experienced EIP classes. It is specifically hypothesized that in subsequent years former EIP children will be more productively engaged in desirable classroom behavior and will exhibit fewer instances of misbehavior. It is expected that these children will pay more attention to adult directions and instruction, will employ better study habits, and will earn higher grades when compared to children from similar backgrounds who have not been exposed to EIP classroom programs.

### *Special Teacher Training Procedures Developed in* EIP

As a result of the assumptions underlying EIP's programs, a number of procedures have been developed to bring about changes in classroom organization, instructional programing, and teacher-child relationships. Schedules have been developed (*6*) which define in detail specific behaviors of children and teachers in classroom and other educational settings. Using continuous monitoring of classroom process, along with these schedules, it has been possible to define the characteristic behaviors of both children and teachers in EIP classrooms and to introduce specific treatment programs. Guidelines for stimulating behavioral change, derived from the work of the social learning theorists, have been used by EIP teachers in cooperation with research technicians to develop techniques which foster desirable behavior in children. Teachers have learned new ways of relating to children, and children have learned to attend and become engaged in profitable social and independent activities. A relaxed, productive, and student-relevant sequence of learning activities, within limits set by teachers, has been created within the EIP ungraded primaries.

Techniques of teacher training and curriculum organization learned in the laboratory school have been introduced in target area ungraded primaries as well as in the preschools. In addition to organizational and instructional changes, new instructional materials have been developed for fostering language, speech, and motor development. These new materials are being evaluated by special studies with experimental and control groups.

### *Changes in Development of Intelligence and Academic Achievement*

The Durham EIP is now in its fourth year and currently enrolls eleven different groups of children of various ages in its target area classrooms and demonstration school. Changes in mental age and academic achievement for children who have been enrolled in EIP since the fall of 1965 are given in Table 1.

TABLE 1

CHANGES IN MENTAL AGE AND ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENT BY CHRONOLOGICAL AGE FOR SEVENTEEN DISADVANTAGED CHILDREN

| | CA *(in months)* | MA *(in months)* | *Grade Equivalent* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Intelligence Test Data | | | |
| Binet | 67 | 60 | |
| Binet | 74 | 69 | |
| WISC (Full Scale) | 79 | 73 | |
| WISC (Full Scale) | 85 | 83 | |
| WISC (Full Scale) | 89 | 87 | |
| WISC (Full Scale) | 96 | 98 | |
| WISC (Full Scale) | 101 | 98 | |
| Achievement | | | |
| MAT Form I | | | |
| Word Knowledge | 85 | | 1.7 |
| Word Discrimination | 85 | | 2.0 |
| Reading | 85 | | 1.9 |
| Arithmetic Comprehension | 85 | | 2.3 |
| MAT Form II | | | |
| Word Knowledge | 97 | | 3.0 |
| Word Discrimination | 97 | | 3.4 |
| Reading | 97 | | 2.8 |
| Arithmetic Comprehension | 97 | | 3.0 |
| Spelling | 97 | | 3.3 |
| Language Achievement | | | |
| ITPA | 102 | 85 | |

These data are only suggestive since they represent only one group of children out of the eleven classes currently enrolled. However, they suggest that the mental abilities of these children have approached national norms and that their academic achievement has been above average when compared with normal grade expectations. A further point of interest is that these achievement gains have been realized even though their overall language performance as measured by the Illinois Test of Psycholinguistic Abilities (ITPA) shows retardation of about a year and one half at age 8½.

Reading instruction in this group involved the Gattegno *Words in Color* approach supplemented by Sullivan and SRA programed readers. Spelling, word knowledge, and word discrimination appeared to develop at a faster rate than reading comprehension.

Mathematics was taught by the Gattegno approach using Cuisenaire rods, supplemented by Suppes' *Sets and Numbers*. Performance in mathematics as measured by the MAT showed a rapid initial gain with slower gains in the second year of mathematics instruction.

This group of children is scheduled for conventional fourth grade public school classrooms in the fall of 1969. Overall performance will be evaluated again in the spring of 1970. Additional reports on the results of EIP programs will be published during the next two years.

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# Problems in Teaching Reading to Bilingual Children

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WHY can't Johnny Bilingual read? Thousands of Johnnys and Marys across the United States from New York to California face learning to read in a second language. In New York, children coming from 92 countries speak a total of 43 different languages (*6*). The Bureau of Indian Affairs is concerned with Indian students who speak 170 Indian dialects and whose language structure bears little relationship to English (*8*).

## Components Interrelated with Reading Problems

Reading problems cannot be isolated. They are interrelated with the goals of the second language learner, problems of the total second language acquisition task, and with factors influencing this task.

While second language learners may have any of three primary goals (cultural enrichment, utilitarian enrichment, or basic literacy), the goal most likely to produce reading problems is that of acquiring literacy in the language in which one expects to acquire all of one's formal education (*8*).

The total second language acquisition task involves knowledge of phonemic, morphological, and syntactical language clues; auditory discrimination; imitative ability; understanding of word meanings with all the connotations and subtleties; knowledge of situational language patterns; written expression patterns; recognition of elements of style and literary devices; selections of appropriate cognitive skill to meet the language task; and knowledge of culture from which the language has developed.

Eight factors that influence the learning of a second language were listed by Tireman and Zintz in 1961 (*10*). Foremost among these is that of *desire*. Desire must have strong reinforcement of need to keep a student struggling with the complexities of the English language. Practical utilitarian arguments are always more effective in promoting desire than invoking cultural value (*12*). Desire or motivation is seriously reduced if that desire produces an alienating situation. When children begin to acquire not only a strange language but cultural value systems alien to the cultural heritage of their ancestors, an awareness of conflict emerges and the sensing of this robs the child of emotional security. The more emotionally charged and the greater the extent of culture-value conflicts, the greater the impact on emotional security. Prevention of damage to a learner's inner-core personality was considered so important by Hildegard Thompson, chief, Branch of Indian Affairs in 1965, that she stated *cultural empathy* should be a major qualification of all teachers who work with the culturally different (*8*).

Two other factors of importance are the amount of exposure to the new language and the amount of time allotted for second language learning. If the language of the learner's community is the native tongue, the rate of acquisition of the second language is slowed. Concern with this problem caused teachers in Bureau of Indian Affair's schools in 1904 to forbid speaking the native tongue upon threat of punishment. A more humanistic approach has since developed, and various experiments are being tried to solve this problem (*7*). The amount of time allotted has increased considerably from the schedule of one hour daily, often found in the "foreign" language instruction of the past. At Intermountain Indian School, students are scheduled for language laboratory, E.S.L. oral enrichment, written English, drama, literature, and reading classes plus acquiring instruction in content subjects from English speaking teachers sensitive to the bilingual problem.

A fourth factor is the common elements between the original language and second language. For example: the Navajo speaker encounters problems with particular phonemes, such as final consonants; the absence in Navajo of certain sounds, such as the voiced and voiceless th in "this" and "think" or fricatives such as "face" and "violets"; and the tendency to carry over the glottal stop in the

Navajo phonemic system into English speech. Morphological and syntactical differences, such as pluralization, possessive forms, gender, and verb system, contribute to difficulty in mastering the new language (*10*).

Four other factors having definite impact on second language acquisition are socioeconomic status of learners, influence of recognized leaders of the original cultural community, educational adjuncts, and intelligence. While learners from some countries rise in socioeconomic status as a result of second language acquisition, it has been noted that harmful social and economic forces can "dissipate energy, short-circuit ambition, create anxiety, and produce fears that paralyze a child" (*3*). Debilitating factors such as poor attendance, undernourishment, broken home, etc., are frequently found in the background of bilingual poor readers (*13*). An example of constructive influence by native language leaders is the establishing of a large scholastic fund by the Navajo Tribal Council.

## Reading Problem Areas

Against this background of factors influencing the second language acquisition, the problems of becoming literate in that language emerge as herculean tasks.

### *Decoding*

As Tireman (*9*) pointed out so expressively, "There is no magic formula." A child learning to read in a second language must master the same skills as the one learning to read in a first language. Somehow the child must learn to decode the visual symbols of reading into meaningful sound symbols of real, vicarious, or synthetic experiences. Wolk (*13*) reported on a special study of reading disability errors of bilingual children. An analysis of these errors indicate that most were the result of inadequately spoken English. The results of hundreds of Gilmore Oral Reading Inventories given at Intermountain Indian School dramatize that many mechanical errors in reading are identical to speaking errors. However, this is not the total explanation. Just as some Anglo children who speak English as a first language fail to learn to decode visual symbols, so do some bilingual children. The causes appear to be the same: inadequate auditory perception, faulty visual perception, and poor teaching.

Ewers (*1*) found a high positive relationship between bilingualism and the inability to blend syllables and concluded from her study that reading ability involves many aspects of auditory perception. Short vowel sounds are of such short duration may students cannot separate them from the initial consonant. Even when students can recognize the different short vowels, they may have trouble holding the sounds in their mind's ear long enough to produce a sound and mentally compare the two.

*Inadequate teaching of word attack skills appears to be highly significant.* Students often read with good oral accuracy until they encounter words for which their attack skills are inadequate. Then they not only falter on those words but make mechanical errors on words previously read smoothly. While phonetic clues are not so helpful to the bilingual as to the native speaker, they appear to be significantly valuable in decoding visual communications. An analysis of the phonetic word attack skills of good bilingual readers indicates competency in utilizing visual clues and applying phonetic principles.

### *Word Meaning*

Pronunciation of written words is only one aspect of word mastery. Reading involves attaching meaning to the decoded symbol. In this realm lies the real troublemaker for the bilingual. Words are seldom given meaning in isolation. Function order, inflection, intonation, and reference, control meaning (2). For example, if I say the word *run,* what comes to your mind? A run in your stocking? Moving rapidly on foot? Reproducing copies? A salmon run? Not until I place the word in a sentence or context will it have definite meaning. To compound the problem of word meaning is the use of idioms (*14*). To the bewildered bilingual, English is idiom rich and modern English of contemporary stories "way out." Many simple verbs can be combined with prepositions to produce idioms that baffle nonnative speakers. Take the verb *put* and try out *put over, put out, put up with, output, put about, put across.*

If one considers the average vocabulary of first language English speaking children in first grade, the enormity of vocabulary load for the bilingual becomes obvious. To catch up with the average first language fourth grader the bilingual needs to master approximately 9,000 words, many of which have multiple meanings. Many educators agree the most efficient method of choosing which words to teach is by use of word-frequency lists. Permanently attaching meaning to a word may require only a few exposures, but some words are so vague or nondistinctive as to require literally hundreds of exposures or uses to be adequately assimilated.

### *Comprehension*

Comprehension involves more than knowing the meanings of words; however, it is greatly hindered if many word meanings are unknown. Generally, problems of comprehension are of two kinds: lack of oral English experiential background and inadequate methods of determining comprehension. If students cannot identify who, what, when, where, and why after correctly reading a story orally, the problem lies in not understanding how to answer this type of question. Oral pattern practice is needed in a concrete experiential situation. For example: *Where?* Where is Mary? In her seat. Where is John? Outside. Where is the book? On the table. Inability to identify main idea, supporting details, cause and effect, relationships, and other such skills again depends on having been shown how to do these in meaningful oral English situations devoid of visual symbol decoding. If the child's oral English is inadequate, the reading teacher may have to take sentences apart: make separate sentences of clauses; change inverted word order to normal word order; put markings to indicate connectors such as *then, but, until;* and underline key words in comprehension questions such as *when, where,* and *who* (*4*).

### *Linguistic Clue Usage*

Some bilingual students readily pick up clues: the determiners *a, an, the, some,* are followed by nouns or naming words; pronouns have referents either within the sentence or in preceding sentences;

and word order control of meaning; but many students have considerable difficulty in grasping the linguistic patterns of English sufficiently to use the linguistic clues as aids in reading.

### *Study Skills*

Another part of the total reading problem is the acquisition of study skills. From following simple directions to complex organization of the reading task, the bilingual student faces the same learning task as the nonbilingual but often does not come equipped with the background of experiences to meet the challenge.

### *Factors Which Adversely Affect Reading Instruction*

### *Oral Language Competency*

Foremost among the factors which adversely affect reading instruction is rushing into reading before establishing competency in oral language (*11*). This factor is especially important for those whose formal education must come in the second language. One cannot postpone reading instruction until the child is as competent as an adult native speaker of the second language; therefore, an oral language program is needed which is so structured as to prepare the child for the reading skills required by his academic instructional program. Linguistic clues and patterns of thinking taught in oral language classes lessen the burden of the child meeting the challenge of learning to attach meaning to visual symbols.

### *Trained Teacher Shortage*

A second problem is the shortage of teachers trained to teach reading to the bilingual student. The fifteen-year Puerto Rican study (*6*) indicated that a teacher's knowledge of the native language of the students had no significant effect on learning English and that the most successful approach was a combination of structural and vocabulary emphasis and experimental methods to meet the needs and problems of a specific class. Many who work with bilinguals would agree that the reading teacher should have cultural empathy, background training in the oral aspects of learning the second language, understanding of the reading process, and enthusiasm to experiment with methods and materials.

### *Suitable Material Shortage*

A third major factor is the lack of suitable materials. Some basal readers carry stories which expound beliefs in conflict with cultural beliefs of the bilingual child (*15*). Most book companies do not provide lists of idioms appearing in their readers (*14*). Some books will state that the words used in the book come from lists such as the Dolch Service Word list but fail to consider the multiple meanings they give to these words in their stories. Most teacher's manuals do not carry suggestions for those teaching the bilingual. Supplementary materials are often high in interest appeal but are not too plentiful at the primer to second grade reading difficulty level. More exchange of materials developed by pupil-teacher experience charts and creative writing could help make reading materials more relevant to the learners.

### *Other Adverse Factors*

Other factors involved include experience deprivation, teacher quandary of what value system to teach, educational philosophies, curriculum offerings, physiological, and neurological disabilities.

## Description of Title I Project for Bilingual Retarded Readers

Planning a remediation program based on an analysis of the information available involves considerable knowledge of sociological and cultural factors, empathy, knowledge of the reading process, and sensitive judgment as to the relative importance of various factors influencing the reading problem. For those children who failed to learn to read adequately to meet their needs, a reading improvement center was established at Intermountain Indian School through Title I assistance.

## Selection, Testing, and Scheduling

Standardized achievement tests together with diagnostic screening tests are given to classrooms of students. This information and classroom teacher recommendations determine which students are selected as potential clientele. Students are provided with application forms and helped to fill them out, if necessary. Students are not forced into attendance although school counselors may urge students to consider it seriously. Generally, more students ask to be allowed to come than can be accommodated.

Therapy students are scheduled eight per hour per teacher. These students are given various diagnostic tests. Both group and individual word attack skill tests have been developed which do not involve nonsense syllables. Nonsense syllables too often produce nonlinguistically true internal word structure patterns. Other tests utilized include Dolch Sight Word Test, Betts Informal Spelling Inventory, oral reading inventory, and Gates-MacGinitie Reading Tests. A listening levels test constructed over stories of high interest to the Indian student provides information as to English language understanding and indicates the level to which the student can be taught to read. According to Murphy (*5*), the highest level at which the student can demonstrate comprehension of 70 percent or higher is the level to which he can be taught to read. Information concerning vision, speech handicaps, hearing disabilities, psychological factors, and health considerations, is acquired by request from appropriate agencies within the school structure.

### Instructional Organization, Methods, and Materials

To provide individualized instruction for eight students per hour per teacher, students are assigned weekly contracts. This schedule allows pupils to see completed work rather than an overwhelming task ahead. The teacher becomes a resource person who helps in accomplishing the tasks and evaluating the quality of work done. Based on our curriculum study in reading, the contracts are divided into five sections: word attack, vocabulary growth, comprehension, related skills, and study skills. The teacher in consultation with the director determines the assignments for the contract based on the testing and background data for each student. Contracts vary considerably. One student may have a number of word attack skill assignments to meet a deficiency, a vocabulary lesson which is correlated with the comprehension assignment, and a spelling lesson correlated with word attack. This student will also have provision for daily oral work with the teacher. Another student, who is becoming a word caller, will have vocabulary assignments correlated with comprehension assignments, *Listen-Think* tapes, lessons from *Reading for Understanding Kit,* and no oral reading at all. As a student completes work, he requests checking. Nearly all assignments are checked within a few minutes of completion. Corrections are explained. Unusual difficulty and need for additional instructional activities are noted on the contract. If work is well done, an appropriate comment is written on the contract—very good, excellent, fine job, etc. If work is careless, poorly done without good reason, or procrastinated, an appropriate comment is placed on the contract. The weekly grade is based on quality and quantity of work performed.

An example of types of materials employed to attack a particular problem would be those used for a student who has not acquired the visual clue principle of hard and soft C and G. Language Master cards are assigned to permit students to hear the patterns. *Phonics We Use, Developing Reading Skills, Conquests in Reading,* or some other workbook instructional assignments are completed. Next, the student receives an Aud-x C and G lesson. If necessary or desired, a reinforcement encoding lesson from Dr. Spello is used. As a final test and to give additional practice, a small hand tachistoscope with C and G words is operated with oral response.

As students are diagnostically tested, problems affecting many students are noted and analyzed. Materials are constructed by the director or teacher staff: for example, auditory discrimination requisite to accurate pronounciation was noted as a common problem. Twenty-three lessons were constructed to be utilized in a tape-recorder junction box arrangement. Consisting of carefully planned script and response sheets, these lessons deal primarily with the vowels. One rather notable problem was failure to acquire accent patterns. Overhead projector transparencies encourage students to discover the patterns and apply them to unknown words. Frequently, commercial materials can be utilized, if modified, correlated, and reinforced. For example, for some students particularly deficient in vocabulary growth in relationship to word attack and comprehension, *Word Clues* was used as a basal vocabulary program. Language Master cards made to accompany these allow the student to acquire correct pronunciation independently. Staff designed completion sentence cards and storycards reviewing each set of ten words provide additional practice with the words.

Many of the high-interest, easy-reading books, such as the *Dan Frontier Series, Hunting Grizzly Bears, Checkerboard Series,* and *Wildlife Series,* are supplemented with study sheets designed by the staff. These study sheets give much vocabulary review and practice on various comprehension skills. For some of these supplementary readers, overhead transparencies are being developed to assist students with learning the multiple meaning of words. For example, in the book, *Hunting Grizzly Bears* (a favorite of many students), the word *snapped* is used with four different meanings: Fastened—he snapped the radio on the bear's ear; made a noise like a snap—the gun snapped as he pulled the trigger; closed quickly—the bear's jaws snapped; and hitting with a jerking motion—the bear snapped at Rich with his paw.

Many filmstrips intended for use with group discussion can be utilized for individualized instruction if tapes are prepared to provide oral explanation and response sheets are constructed to allow the student to make an overt response. To accompany some new cognitive-skill filmstrips acquired this past year, a student response sheet was constructed allowing the student to react to the questions posed, demonstrate application of the skill, and check his responses against an answer key for reinforcement or correction.

Students having visual perception problems may receive hand tachistoscopic work, kinesthetic-visual experiences, background-foreground discrimination exercises, or eye-hand coordination training.

Many students who are having problems with oral-reading accuracy receive work on oral reading in books selected to meet independent reading levels and their interests. The tape recorder is an indispensable aid in providing oral reading practice; however, some students need a teacher sufficiently versed in speech correction or English sound production to help the child with speech organ placement or movement: for example, the short *e,* a troublesome phoneme for many remedial students, is produced by tucking the tongue behind the lower teeth and uttering a somewhat sharp sound. The mispronunciation of words such as "mudder" for *mother*, "sing" for *thing*, and "dis" for *this* is a speech error, not a reading error; however, language arts should not be a fragmented discipline. Our staff helps students with this type of problem to improve the oral reading accuracy and oral English.

## *Results of Project*

Reading center sessions are scheduled for eight weeks' instruction plus the pretesting and post-testing time. Students may attend one more of the sessions depending on a number of factors: need, potentiality for continued improvement, interest, etc. Examination of previous schooling records of these students reveals an average gain of one month per eight weeks' instruction. While a few students gained as much as one year seven months in vocabulary and two years two months in comprehension, the average gain for a center session was nearly three months per eight weeks in vocabulary and two months per eight weeks in comprehension, as measured on the Gates-MacGinitie test. On the Gilmore Oral Reading Inventory the average gain in oral accuracy was five and one-half months with nine and one-half months' gain in comprehension. Some students made higher post-test scores on three out of the four tests and made a lower post-test on the fourth test. Some went down on all tests even though their daily word indicated improvement. Testing is a very provocative business. Some students will deliberately make mistakes because they want to continue coming to the center; others will try anything to get a higher score (apparently for ego satisfaction); some become so nervous during a test they cannot perform to the level they can under nontesting circumstances; and some do better on silent tests while others seem to need the teacher-pupil attention stimulus of the oral tests.

A student evaluation form permits students to indicate their feelings toward the center activities. At the end of the first session this year, 94 percent of the students indicated they believed they had improved in reading. Of the materials used, they indicated their favorites in this descending order: silent reading of books, language master, controlled reader, workbooks, Kits (S.R.A. Reading Attainment, etc.), tape recorder work, Aud-X, oral reading to the teacher, and listening to records.

Another item the students are asked about is the work difficulty. Given choices of *too easy, just about right, a little bit hard,* and *too hard,* the number one choice is *just about right* followed by *a little bit hard.*

## *Tomorrow's Hope*

While the reading problems of the bilingual are often made more complex by many factors, the increased attention being given this national problem will undoubtedly result in improvement in teacher training, construction of materials, and provision of badly needed additional funds. Surely, tomorrow's Johnny Bilingual will receive more help in acquiring competency in reading.

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# Sustained Primary Program for Bilingual Children

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THE PROBLEM of bilingual instruction has typified the educational needs of the Southwest. In Las Cruces, New Mexico, many attempts have been made to solve the problem: pre-first classes (begun in 1929), junior first, high first, summer language programs, second summer language enrichment, and Head Start. These programs were commendable, but more remained to be done; for despite all efforts children from Spanish speaking backgrounds consistently lagged behind native English speaking children in readiness, reading and total achievement.

A recent summary of test results from eleven schools compiled in 1963, 1964, and 1965 revealed that, at the readiness level, the percentage of children scoring *below* the 25th percentile on the Metropolitan Reading Readiness Test were from English speaking backgrounds .02 percent; from Spanish speaking backgrounds 30.7 percent; in the area of reading and total achievement, children from schools with a predominant Spanish-Mexican enrolment scored on the average one year and six months below students from schools with a predominant Anglo enrolment.

Results of the achievement tests provided reliable objective information for comparative analysis. Other data, less objective but equally reliable, was teacher evaluation of pupil attitude and behavior. Similar evaluative reports related to problems of educating the bilingual child were found in the literature and served to confirm teacher judgment.

Angel's study (*1*) indicated that one effect of bilingualism for the Mexican-American child was social maladjustment.

Frustration and discouragement were apparent when children were forced to learn in a weak language, according to MacNamara (*6*) and Manuel (*5*). Attempts to understand an unfamiliar subject in an unfamiliar tongue was a difficult process for adults even when motivation was present; for children it was utter confusion. Unable to cope with prolonged bombardment of unidentified stimuli, children's responses ranged from general disinterest to more overt action and included stuttering, aggressive acts directed toward other children, passive hostility directed toward adults (withdrawal, refusal to work, generally noncooperative), loss of self-confidence (fearful of trying), and defensive behavior (headache, stomachache).

In *Education Across Cultures,* Zintz (*9*) noted that children required to adjust to a different culture, with a different language when verbal expression was lacking, experienced extreme frustration which blocked thinking skills. Under such stress cognitive skills appeared to be lacking. Communication also suffered; children appeared neither monolingual nor bilingual, but rather nonlingual.

Gaarder (*4*) considered emotional and intellectual problems to be closely related to language. When bilingualism was viewed as a liability, confidence and pride were destroyed; and the individual rejected self, school, parents, and society. When the learner felt his language and culture were accepted, he developed feelings of positive self-worth which enabled him to cope with cognitive tasks.

Early in the 1960's concerns for bilingual education began to receive national attention. In 1965 and 1966 the report of the NCTE Task Force on Teaching English to the Disadvantaged (*7*) and the NEA Tucson Survey of the Teaching of Spanish to the Spanish Speaking (*8*) focused on the bilingual education problem.

As a result of this growing awareness, schools across the nation began seeking ways to make the *invisible minority* (*8*) visible. Support was provided through the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (1965) whereby solutions to the problem were sought. Innovative and exemplary studies under Title III offered opportunities to conduct educational research relevant to local needs.

The Sustained Primary Program for Bilingual Students, of the Las Cruces Public Schools, Title III ESEA, recognized the problem of undifferentiated cultural and linguistic factors related to academic achievement and presented an experimental design for bilingual education beginning with kindergarten and advancing through grade three. (A research study began July 1967 and will conclude June 1971.)

The experimental setting for this project, currently in operation, represents the best we know about learning environments. Emphasis is upon understanding and appreciating the Spanish, Mexican, Anglo heritage of the Mesilla Valley and Southwestern, New Mexico; discovering the structure of language; recognizing how learning occurs; identifying the methodology and strategy needed to create the best learning climate; and exploring ways of expanding the learning environment into the home and community.

## Theoretical Position

The basic philosophy of the design is contained in the following position statements:

If school curriculum utilizes the cultural values and language of ethnic groups in the community, it follows that greater appreciation and understanding will promote positive feelings of self-worth leading to meaningful bicultural interaction.

If the learner experiences happy positive feelings, he will feel free to explore and question his environment, activities thus facilitating maximum perceptual and conceptual growth.

If the learner's language patterns and cultural values are fully accepted, feelings of positive self-awareness and self-confidence will facilitate healthy interaction and involvement resulting in optimum measurable achievement.

If the learner becomes equally competent in the skills of the English and Spanish language, he will possess the verbal and interpretive tools for meaningful bicultural interaction.

If school administrators and teachers value the involvement of parents in the curricular experiences of their children and parent participation is actively maintained, home-school relations will reflect mutual, responsible concerns for education.

*Components* of the project include seven major features. Each component is presented with accepted rationale.

A *sustained primary program for bilingual students* provides continuous learning experiences through a twelve months' program with two hundred instructional days and short vacation periods. The calendar is approved by the parents. Teachers and pupils remain together kindergarten through grade three. Advancement is continuous and nongraded.

*Extended teacher contracts* include two hundred days of instruction and twenty-five days of inservice. Teachers receive college credit for inservice training under the direction of public school administrators. Emphasis is upon curriculum preparation, teaching methods, and evaluations.

A *culturally centered curriculum* implements sound learning theory. First of all, the value system of the learner is recognized by identifying and accepting cultural values of the historical setting and linguistic contributions of the present personal setting. Culture is explored as content, and content is developed through English and Spanish languages. Valuing and utilizing the pupils' cultural heritage create a climate for happiness and confidence. Valuing and utilizing pupils' linguistic patterns promote early and meaningful communication. Thus, feelings are not in conflict with language or culture, and the child can experience successful encounter in the assimilation of cognitive data.

The *methodology* employed provides a description of how learning occurs and identifies the climate in which learning is most readily facilitated. It is a description of the teaching strategy and the dynamics of the learner's response. It describes inquiry and discovery techniques which will lead to concept formation.

Within the sustained primary program for bilingual pupils, prime consideration is accorded the necessity for providing situations and materials whereby conceptual proficiency and self-esteem are achieved simultaneously.

Through differentiated instruction, pupils are encouraged to become self-selective, self-directed, self-disciplined, and self-evaluative. The emphasis is upon awareness of self, awareness of others, and personal competence.

The curriculum guide establishes a broad conceptual framework. The statement of concept provides a goal or understanding the child is expected to reach through inquiry and discovery.

Content areas determine the scope and sequence of information appropriate to instructional level and subject area.

Activities and resources support concepts presented. Finally, evaluative guidelines provide measures of perceptual, conceptual, and attitudinal growth.

The *why* and the *how* are set forth in this culturally centered language arts guide which is the vehicle for the experimental instructional program of four schools, kindergarten through third grade.

The *experiential language arts instructional program* represents the heart of this study. Communication is controlled by the individual's personal values. Attitudinal values are like a magnetic force which selects, attracts, repels, and arranges stimuli into fields of action. The child's attitudinal values are inexorably bound to his culture, language, and feelings and serve to shape his conceptualizations. This attitudinal force operates continually and selectively in the learning process. Language is the vehicle for concept formation. Language forms the bridge of understanding, for language cannot be divorced from emotion or intellect. Language achieves its fullest meaning when the interaction of experience makes it possible for a child to express his conceptualization.

Valuing creative communication individualizes learning, for children speak, write, read, spell, and translate personally meaningful patterns of language. Creative communication accompanies and promotes creative behavior and responsible decision making thus generating the desirable flexibility required for healthy adjustments in a changing society.

> Experimental English-Spanish instruction occurs in two elementary schools. Sixty kindergarten children and sixty first grade children began the project in 1966-1967 and will advance through grade three. Children enrolled in the K-3 classes learn to listen, speak, read, and write in English and Spanish. Instruction is aimed toward linguistic fluency and comprehension in both languages. Learning in two languages is not seen as an end in itself but as a process for bettering educational and social goals.
>
> Experimental English instruction occurs in two elementary schools. Sixty kindergarten children and sixty first grade children began the project in 1966-1967 and will advance through grade three. Children enrolled in the K-3 classes are instructed in English only. Comprehension, however, is a basic necessity, and a

> bilingual aide is present to provide language reinforcement when needed.
>
> A controlled basal reader program describes language arts instruction for first, second, and third grade children in the four elementary schools not enrolled in the K-3 program. Pupils in these schools comprise the control group.

Language patterning is considered an important part of each child's aural-oral experience in both experimental groups. Vocabulary is carefully selected. Language skills are strengthened through the use of a tape recorder, a listening center, and individualized programed activities. Patterns are selected which help children express positive self-concepts in Spanish and English.

Encoding and decoding skills are recognized as part of the learning process. Every individual in some manner accepts, rejects, assimilates, integrates, and responds to stimuli in a manner appropriate to his total organismic structure. The learner's response to language is observed by the perceptual motor skills he demonstrates, by the linguistic and conceptual level at which he operates, by the neuropsychophysio makeup he displays, and by the personal value system he employs.

Language is a learned process based on the child's sensory perception and organization of all auditory and visual stimuli.

Language is also a social experience developed in relation to self and others and provides a media for receiving, reacting, and interacting with the environment.

Decoding means breaking the visual code and assigning meaning to language symbols. It is the basic skill essential for success in reading. Decoding is more than phonics instruction. It is a way of exploring the structure of language and requires the selection of appropriate strategies for categorizing perceptual and conceptual stimuli into temporal spatial patterns.

Breaking the visual code (*3*), valuable as it is for children of low socioeconomic status and those predisposed to reading failure, must be preceded and accompanied by meaning-laden patterns of language.

The language experience approach to reading becomes, then, the basic technique for reading instruction in each experimental group. Through many experiences, perceptual, conceptual, and attitudinal constructs are continually formulated which provide motivation for meaningful communication.

Individualized reading helps children develop a positive self-concept. There is personal satisfaction in selecting, pacing, sharing, questioning, and recognizing reading skills.

The *bilingual instructional aide* is an important link between home and school for she represents the same ethnic background, values the same customs and traditions, and speaks the same language as the children. She is able to reinforce learning concepts in English or Spanish so that every child fully comprehends. The aide acts as interpreter and translator for parents or visitors whenever the need is apparent. She assists with language patterning activities and operates listening centers and audiovisual equipment. After the teacher has diagnosed learning needs and selected appropriate techniques and materials, the aide provides tutorial assistance for individuals and small groups. Aides render invaluable service, from the many housekeeping chores they perform to the public relations role they play in the community. (Inservice workshops are a regular part of the aide's job responsibility. Career advancement is offered under another phase of the migrant program.)

With an aide, the master teacher functions at a truly professional level. She is able to diagnose learning problems and prescribe appropriate assistance. There is time for planning, individualization, and creative productivity.

*Parent participation* stresses direct involvement of parents with the school in the establishment of educational goals. Parents and teachers working together learn mutual respect and responsible participation.

Continuing efforts involve parents in parent-teacher conferences, teacher-class demonstrations, home visitations, instructional workshops where parents construct teaching materials requested by the teacher, arts and crafts workshops where parents learn to make decorative and inexpensive articles for their homes, and parent study groups where interest and/or problem needs related to home and school are discussed. As a result of the special studies, parents and teachers have experienced increased personal sensitivity and insight into their own feelings as well as increased understanding of their roles as facilitators of learning. (Activities are publicized through *El Mirasol* an English/Spanish newsletter for parents.)

The *human development program* (2) facilitates favorable personality growth and development. It was chosen to compliment the K-3 Program to advance positive feelings of self-worth. Teachers and parents learn to strengthen and enrich the learning experiences of children through increased awareness of and sensitivity to school, home, and community life as it effects pupil attitude and performance.

The human development program promotes positive awareness of self and others, develops and evaluates social interaction, and helps individuals recognize and accept feelings of mastery and success.

## Call for Action

These various components comprise the learning environment. The stage is set! The mood is changing—experimental, positive, exciting, frustrating, expectant, determined, warm, intent, and purposeful!

What do we expect to learn?

Will children involved in the experimental culturally centered language arts instructional programs achieve at a significantly higher level than children from similar backgrounds at similar grade level who are involved in a traditional basal reader instructional program?

Will children involved in the experimental English/Spanish instructional program achieve as well as children in an experimental English program and better than a like group of children in a basal reader instructional program?

Will the mental abilities of children from Spanish speaking backgrounds be increased by actualizing positive self-concepts related to language and culture through curricular learning experiences?

Will pupils receiving two hundred days of instruction during a period of twelve months, with frequent short vacations not exceeding three weeks, experience continuous learning advancement at a significantly higher level than pupils receiving instruction for one hundred eighty days during a period of nine months with three months of vacation time?

Will projective measures of pupil attitude and adjustment (affective learning) correlate positively with standardized measures of pupil achievement (cognitive learning)?

Will parent attitude and degree of involvement correlate positively with pupil attitude and pupil achievement?

## Research Design

Pre- and post-measures of mental ability, readiness for learning, academic achievement, pupil attitude, parent attitude, and degree of involvement will be assessed each year of the project.

The Parent Attitude Toward Education Rating Scale will indicate any changes in attitude related to the schools' instructional program, home-school relationships, value of education for themselves and their children, aspirations for their children, extended school year, dual language instruction, and personal educational experiences.

Evaluation instruments include the California Test of Mental Maturity, Kindergarten Evaluation of Learning Potential, Metropolitan Reading Readiness, Metropolitan Achievement Test, Parent Attitude Toward Education, Draw-a-Person, and Pupil Adjustment Scale.

*Statistical data* for the first year (1966-1967) of the project is being analyzed. This portion of the report presents some implications and possible trends in bilingual instruction. It is not meant to represent the final data.

Results of the California Test of Mental Maturity administered to first grade students in the fall of 1967 and again in the spring of 1968 indicated a significant difference between the pre-post language IQ means and between the pre-post nonlanguage IQ means for each of the instructional programs at the .01 level (Table 1).

It appears that for bilingual students, intelligence as measured by the California Test of Mental Maturity is favorably affected by school instruction.

### TABLE 1

CALIFORNIA TEST OF MENTAL MATURITY
Pre-Post Results Comparison
Significance of Difference Between Means

| | *Language IQ* | | | | *Nonlanguage IQ* | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *F. 1967* | *S. 1968* | *T* | *Sig.* | *F. 1967* | *S. 1968* | *T* | *Sig.* |
| Control | 86.0 | 97.0 | 17.19 | .01 | 89.95 | 100.70 | 16.29 | .01 |
| Exp. English | 89.9 | 98.10 | 6.56 | .01 | 90.05 | 101.15 | 10.99 | .01 |
| Exp. Spanish English | 93.45 | 100.55 | 5.87 | .01 | 85.95 | 103.95 | 18.56 | .01 |

For first grade students the language IQ and nonlanguage IQ comparison of the significance of difference between mean scores of Fall 1967 and Spring 1968 tests as measured by the California Test of Mental Maturity indicated there is a significant difference between the language and nonlanguage IQ of the control group in the fall and the spring testing. There was no significant difference between the language and nonlanguage IQ of the experimental English group (Table 2). There was no significant difference between language and nonlanguage IQ of the experimental Spanish/English group in the fall testing, but a significant difference was found in the spring testing.

We may assume that the language development of the children in the control group was retarded in comparison to their nonlanguage development and that the experimental Spanish/English group developed nonlanguage skills which were apparently lacking at the time of initial testing.

The comparison of experimental programs as measured by the California Test of Mental Maturity (Table 3) indicated by the significance of difference between means shows there was no significant difference between the control and experimental English groups; no significant difference was found between the experimental English group and experimental Spanish/English group, but there was a significant difference between the control and experimental Spanish/English group on language IQ.

We can assume that the population in the control group does differ from the population in the experimental Spanish/English group in language competency.

A survey of Metropolitan Achievement Test (Table 4) scores administered in the fall of 1968 (in September 1968, second grade groups were administered the first grade test) indicated the significance of difference between means in word knowledge, word discrimination, reading, and arithmetic.

Results indicated that the experimental Spanish/English group differed significantly from the control group in word discrimination (.10) and arithmetic achievement (.05) and from the experimental English group in word discrimination (.10) as measured by Metropolitan Achievement Test.

## TABLE 2

CALIFORNIA TEST OF MENTAL MATURITY
Language IQ–Nonlanguage IQ Comparison
Significance of Difference Between Means

| | Fall 1967 | | | | Spring 1968 | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | *Lang.* | *Non-lang.* | *T* | *Sig.* | *Lang.* | *Non-lang.* | *T* | *Sig.* |
| Control | 86.0 | 89.95 | 3.04 | .01 | 97.0 | 100.70 | 3.14 | .01 |
| Exp. English | 89.9 | 90.05 | .07 | | 98.10 | 101.15 | 1.47 | |
| Exp. Spanish English | 93.45 | 85.95 | 1.12 | | 100.55 | 103.95 | 1.67 | .01 |
| Total | 89.50 | 89.90 | .41 | | 98.10 | 98.50 | .41 | |

## TABLE 3

### CALIFORNIA TEST OF MENTAL MATURITY
### Program Comparisons of Results
### Significance of Difference Between Means

| | *Con.* | *Exp. Eng.* | *T* | *Sig.* | *Con.* | *Exp. Eng./Sp.* | *T* | *Sig.* | *Exp. Eng.* | *Exp. Eng./Sp.* | *T* | *Sig.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Fall '67 Lang.** | 86.0 | 89.9 | 1.34 | | 86.0 | 93.45 | 2.59 | .01 | 89.9 | 93.45 | .97 | |
| **Fall '67 Non-lang.** | 89.95 | 90.05 | .03 | | 89.95 | 85.95 | 1.50 | | 90.05 | 85.95 | 1.31 | |
| **Spring '68 Lang.** | 97.0 | 98.10 | .43 | | 97.0 | 100.55 | 2.13 | .05 | 98.10 | 100.55 | .77 | |
| **Spring '68 Non-lang.** | 100.70 | 101.15 | .02 | | 100.70 | 103.95 | 1.34 | | 101.15 | 103.95 | .91 | |

### TABLE 4

PROGRAM COMPARISON
METROPOLITAN ACHIEVEMENT TEST
Significance of Difference Between Means

| | *Con.* | *Exp. Eng.* | *T* | *Sig.* | *Con.* | *Exp. Eng./Sp.* | *T* | *Sig.* | *Con.* | *Exp. Eng./Sp.* | *T* | *Sig.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Word Knowledge | 20.58 | 21.38 | .50 | | 20.58 | 20.98 | .58 | | 21.38 | 20.98 | .22 | |
| Word Discrimination | 20.42 | 20.18 | .17 | | 20.42 | 22.98 | 1.72 | .10 | 20.18 | 22.98 | 1.71 | .10 |
| Reading | 21.45 | 22.15 | .38 | | 21.45 | 22.80 | .69 | | 22.15 | 22.80 | .31 | |
| Arith. | 46.45 | 48.80 | .94 | | 46.45 | 50.78 | 1.96 | .05 | 48.80 | 50.78 | .69 | |

Two implications seem justified: dual language instruction was not detrimental to achievement in school as measured by Metropolitan Achievement Test, and instruction in English and Spanish enhanced school achievement.

## Conclusions

While conclusive statements at the end of the first year would be premature, it is appropriate, because of intensified educational concerns for bilingual education, to provide a description of the project and to evaluate and report the progress of the study. Other reports will be forthcoming.

Results of 1966-1967 studies present the following findings:

*Intelligence.* The mental abilities of children in the experimental and control groups were increased by school experiences as measured by the California Test of Mental Maturity.

*Instruction.* Dual language instruction was not detrimental to academic achievement as measured by the Metropolitan Achievement Test. Dual language instruction enhanced school achievement.

*Achievement.* Children who attended two hundred days of school and received continuous educational learning experiences in the experimental program achieved more than children in the traditional one hundred eighty days' program and more than children in the traditional one hundred eighty days' program plus forty half days of summer language program, as measured by the Metropolitan Achievement Test.

## Looking Ahead

Measures of pupil self-concept and parent attitude toward education as they relate to pupil achievement will be reported in a later article. At appropriate intervals progress reports will be made available to interested educators in the form of summaries, demonstrations, lectures, slides, movies, publications, workshops, and conferences. The complete report will be available in 1971.

As the sustained primary program enters the third year of the research study, Las Cruces School administrators and teachers are already adjusting to curriculum changes growing out of the initial phase of the study. A new proposal under Title VII will study the effectiveness of team teaching using educational specialists with paraprofessionals and parent volunteers in a dual language culture-oriented instruction program.

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# Needed Research in Language and Reading Instructional Problems of Spanish Speaking Children

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PUPILS from diverse Spanish-speaking backgrounds constitute the largest linguistic minority in the United States. For example, there are several million Mexican-Americans, mostly residing in five southwestern states (*59*), whose children frequently experience serious difficulties in our unilingual, monocultural public schools (*26*). Various reports (*44*) of dropout rate and number of years of schooling completed (*45*) by these children are more than suggestive of the need for a reappraisal of current educational approaches through long ranged and carefully planned research and development.

It should be clearly noted that the educational achievement of these children, as conditions exist today, is complicated by several dynamically interacting factors (*1, 10*), which differ in varying mixes based upon such influences as geographical, regional, and familial factors; individual differences; socioeconomic status; and relative period of a family's entry to this country. Mentioned most often as primary are the traumatic effects resulting from requiring these children to discard their mother tongue and quickly, effectively, and efficiently develop a second language—English—to communicate and learn with upon entering our schools (*42, 47*). In addition, it can be noted that these children, all too often, find themselves in school environments wherein forced acculturation involving the arbitrary imposition of certain mythical and folkish monocultural American patterns of values, mores and taboos is the rule of the day. Frequently, these children and their families are also mired in poverty with its economic, mental, physical, social, and personal concomitants (*56*).

In spite of these critical and complex factors, instructional procedures for these children are standard, traditional fare supported by biased and subjective opinions (*2*) and experiences of school decision-makers and opinions and biases that are far removed from objective and scientifically collected data, as well as from valid, logical, insightful, and humanistic thinking (*20*). Current school programs in various language areas, hence, reflect little, if any, specific differentiation of method or materials keyed to the particular needs of these children, particularly to their unique linguistic and cultural backgrounds (*54, 60*).

While many instances of educational project funding have been forthcoming in the so-called Great Society years, there has been a consistent pattern of failure to build into such projects objective methods of evaluation of the product, operationally, in terms of short- and long-term educational goals. Indeed, the inclusion of experimental designs in various federally-funded educational projects for Spanish speaking pupils for the scientific identification of pertinent, independent variables has been sadly lacking.

This paper is primarily concerned with research needed in the areas of language and reading development as these areas relate to pupils from Spanish speaking backgrounds; it is a general overview of some recommended research in these related areas. Issues such as these are complicated by the absence of clear and universally accepted definitions of the process, skills, abilities, or procedures in teaching this quality referred to as "reading." The suggested research discussed here need not necessarily be considered uniquely suited for pupils of Spanish speaking backgrounds.

## Normative Descriptive Studies of Processes Required for Reading

We are frequently advised that by age six children bring to school a considerable degree of expertise in aural-oral language and that this language facility is a reflection of children's subculture and learning experiences outside of the school (*9, 15, 57*). This base of language eventually should be studied and analyzed to the point of serving as a critically important source of data for determining both intervention strategies for compensatory educational efforts or for determining and developing innovative curriculum and materials approaches, respectively (*6*).

It would, therefore, be appropriate to suggest the urgent need for the collection of precise descriptive data on the language behavior of pupils from Spanish speaking homes. Information on postulated differences in style and in level of linguistic functioning in both Spanish and English should be explored by geographic regions, socioeconomic levels and unique familial, local, and environmental influences (*13, 22, 28, 35*).

These language analyses should include phonological, morphological, and syntactical analyses, as well as analyses of vocabularies in the referential and functional domains. One end should be the more precise description (*39, 40*) of regional bilingual styles in both English and Spanish, rather than the mass and undifferentiated labeling of these children as "bilingual" without reference to the realities and refinements of the meaning of this term on local and individual linguistic bases. The techniques of contrastive linguistic analysis (*33*) must also be applied in the study of linguistic functioning between the two languages on regional bases to obtain more precise data for decision-making, planning educational programs, and experimental studies of the effects of programs of instruction carefully tailored and suited to differing linguistic styles (*41*).

More basic research data appear to be needed regarding the status and developmental nature of conceptual behavior (*29*) in various populations of pupils whose growth is complicated by the influence of two overlapping cultures and two interacting languages. In this context, descriptive studies of the development of cognitive styles from the earlier sensory-motor, perceptual, preconceptual phases to the more advanced logical, abstract, and symbolic phases of development (*16*) in pupils from Spanish speaking backgrounds is needed for curriculum development purposes and for planning learning sequences and intervention strategies.

In addition to the need for the collection of cognitive and linguistic data, attention should also be directed toward gathering pertinent information related to the various components of learning, such as set for learning, attention, concentration, reinforcement, and motivational factors (*48*). The influence of subcultural factors on learning, as well as data regarding regional and familial perception of schools and teachers, also requires study.

## Research and Experimentation Within Compensatory Educational Programs

Certain cognitive and linguistic characteristics and conditions can be reasoned from experience and experimental evidence to be conducive to success in various language learning tasks, among these reading (*12, 24*). Which specific prelearning abilities and processes are more important than others, in given stages of reading development and for given sequences of specific skills and abilities in reading for pupils of Spanish speaking backgrounds, has yet to be fully explored (*7*). Indeed, this general problem has universal application. However, far less information is available in this area pertaining to pupils of Spanish speaking backgrounds than for any other group.

Teasing out from constellations of abilities those particular capabilities necessary for success in specific reading skill acquisition as well as general reading development, therefore, appears to be a primary research need, prior to the massive, undifferentiated institution of the typical preschool compensatory educational programs (although they might be reasoned to provide some hypothetically diffuse and possible long-term positive effects that are not being discounted here). Acquisition of information and data such as has been here suggested, however, would have an important practical effect in at least two major ways. First, such knowledge would contribute toward the development of a new type of preschool program particularly geared for the effective and efficient preparation of such children for specific language and reading programs awaiting them upon school entrance. Secondly, such information should contribute eventually toward the intelligent modification of school language and reading programs to deal more realistically with, and include experiences which account for, the preschool learning differences that children from these backgrounds bring with them to schools.

Preschool compensatory programs such as Head Start must be continuously assessed and scientifically studied to upgrade their effects on facilitating learning in such areas as language and reading. A serious need exists for this continuous refining, sequencing, and redirecting of learning experiences around these critically important cognitive and linguistic variables, as well as rapidly changing school curricula that in the future, hopefully, will be designed and awaiting these children in first grade.

Identification of various highly relevant and critical abilities for learning different sequences of language and reading skills can be derived from carefully designed experimental preschool programs and follow-up studies of the effects of such programs on subsequent learnings and behaviors. Studies of the effects of various types of initial training (*23, 25, 49*), in such relevant capabilities, on subsequent skill acquisition in language and reading areas would be of great potential value in the education of culturally and linguistically different children.

In short, which prerequisite processes to develop when, how, for whom, and for what particular language and reading outcomes, are questions that require intensive, coordinated, and planned scientific exploration. Children from poverty backgrounds with somewhat differing subcultural and linguistic styles have been shown to be particularly vulnerable to maladroit and undifferentiated teaching procedures based upon little objective understanding of their specific needs.

Compensatory or remedial programs, particularly those in second language and/or reading correction for pupils of Spanish speaking backgrounds must increasingly move towards more research-oriented approaches designed around seeking answers to fundamental questions rather than in superficial trials and demonstrations of electronic and mechanical equipment and in laboratories far removed from naturalistic settings for language development, as well as average gains in reading using questionable criterion measures and data gathering techniques. Variables must be identified in such programs which supply precise information as to what in specific approaches is both effective and efficient for various types of pupils in realizing significant changes in desired language and reading outcomes (*21*).

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Problems in teaching English as a second language or developmental oral-English programs involving such factors as differentiating methodology (*32, 38*) based upon individual differences in initial language styles (*11*); the timing for the introduction of second language learning (*53, 55*); the development of newer, more creative learning contexts (*8, 36, 37*); reenforcement and feedback conditions conducive to language learning, as well as psychocultural (*34, 35, 51*) considerations in second language learning, all require much research effort.

A basically different approach to diagnosis and remediation of reading problems with the vast population of underachieving, underprivileged children is overdue. The development and standardizations of improved and refined measuring instruments for diagnostic evaluation and the streamlining of long, exhaustive, and frequently rigid and imprecise diagnostic routines, as well as the development of new materials, methods, and organizational procedures for remedial activities for culturally and linguistically different pupils are a critical need. In short, a fresh, more realistic research model for underachieving pupils must be developed to generate a whole range of operationally testable hypotheses in this area. The possibilities of applying such findings to experimentation with initial instruction in reading for younger pupils have never been fully realized in reading.

## Research in Curriculum Methods and Materials

Compensatory and remedial approaches have as an underlying assumption the modification of the learner (in some fashion) to increase the probability of success in given areas of learning. Modifying the school in terms of changing curriculum and materials based on child needs is not a particularly recent notion, although the conception of somehow changing the school curriculum for those children of Spanish speaking backgrounds—a group that apparently has particular needs for some changes—is recent and in some regions considered startling. Beginning reading programs designed specifically for so-called bilingual pupils (*52*), language experience approaches (*14*), linguistically oriented conceptualizations applied to reading (*4, 27*), and bilingual-bicultural educational curricula and schools have all been noted in the literature. Very little research is available regarding the effects of such approaches on reading outcomes for pupils of Spanish speaking backgrounds.

In all likelihood, the concept of bilingual-bicultural education holds more promise and requires more immediate innovative research activity than any of the approaches heretofore discussed (*18, 19*). While this approach basically involves teaching the child from a Spanish speaking background such subjects as reading (*30, 31, 43*) in his first (or strongest) language and teaching him English (or another language) second and in a slower, more carefully designed manner, much more is involved (*3, 5, 46, 50*). Bicultural, biethnic factors become part of the curriculum along with concurrent use of two languages. Complex organizational issues are also involved (*17*). Well-designed experimental programs based upon the carefully differentiated linguistic and individual needs of pupils in given geographic regions with unique patterns of characteristics are required (*58*).

Teaching Spanish, however, in an elementary school (to Spanish or English speaking children) or introducing a section or two of English as a second language is *not* bilingual education. Much confusion, misunderstanding, and anxiety among both lay and professional people already exists. Therefore, a first step toward establishing and developing research models for such programs must involve the defining of terms and goals. Experimental study of various phases of bilingual educational approaches must follow this.

Further research activities should be directed around such problems as the differential effects on various school learnings with the mother tongue (Spanish) as the medium as compared to the national language (English), the timing, differential teaching, and introduction of English; the effects of one-way (one group learning in two languages) and two-way schools (two groups learning in their own and each other's language); the materials, conditions, and personnel, for bilingual educational approaches; and the influences of unique regional, geographic, and environmental factors on the forms and approaches to bilingual education.

Both within and outside the context of bilingual education, experimentation with previously mentioned curriculum modifications are necessary, for it can be reasoned that many innovative approaches, such as modified language experience approaches or linguistically oriented programs of reading instruction, hold potentially valuable effects for specific pupils from Spanish speaking backgrounds with different needs. Indeed, creative modification of standard basal reading approaches should not be discounted altogether for many of these pupils. Many of these approaches must be explored, and dimensions within that succeed with specific pupils under particular conditions must be isolated. Particularly important, however, is the realization that language and reading instructional approaches for different pupils of Spanish speaking backgrounds have been inadequately studied.

## Conclusion

This paper has presented a general overview of some needed research in language and reading development for pupils of Spanish speaking backgrounds. Three major areas of research needs were overviewed and briefly discussed: 1) normative and descriptive studies of prelearning processes; 2) compensatory educational programs; and 3) research in curriculum and materials modifications. A relatively consistent picture can be presented concerning current conditions and activities within the scope of this paper.

1. The challenge of educating pupils of Spanish speaking backgrounds has been with us, particularly in the Southwest, for a long time. For other areas of the United States, Spanish speaking pupils of differing ethnic backgrounds have been a relatively recent occurrence.

2. Educational opportunities for pupils with these unique backgrounds have on the whole tended to be inadequate, unrealistic, and (although equivalent) far from the mythical American educational idea of "equal." In certain areas where the education of these pupils can be dated back to periods prior to statehood, linguistic and cultural imperialism still represent a significant barrier to real progress or even cooperation.

3. Research and development activities focusing on pupils of

Spanish speaking backgrounds, however, are in a strong upswing; and projects are being planned, are under development, or under field trial in many areas. Little national research coordination or long-term planning, however, is evidenced, and a very small number of decision-makers in the higher echelons of education are prepared and trained for working either in research and development projects or in public education with these pupils. Very few professionals involved in such activities derive from Spanish speaking backgrounds themselves.

4. Because little, if any, central coordinated planning of research and development activities around a major schema of operations is apparent, it can be predicted that much piecemeal research and development will result, that it will not only overlap with other projects but also will be contradictory and, hence, misleading. The experiences obtained from the years of uncoordinated research in reading will probably characterize this area, unless national coordinating leadership is demonstrated.

5. A framework for research activities presented in this paper is only suggestive of the long ranged, sequential, and coordinated kinds of research activities needed in this area, beginning with the normative and descirptive and and leading toward the practical and applied.

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## BASIC ADULT EDUCATION

# Literacy: A World Problem

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DURING the past thirty years I have spent bits and pieces of my academic life probing and dealing with aspects of the problem of world literacy.

I first became aware of the fact that some grown men and women in the community in which I lived could not read or write during my principalship of a small elementary school in a mill town in Central New York. It was a task of the local principal to administer literacy tests to those voters who did not possess an elementary school diploma. One night in the fall of 1938 four adults of Lebanese background came to my home. The men asked me to give their wives the current literacy test. I complied and found during the testing that neither of the women could read or write in English. Both women had children attending the elementary school, and both were embarrassed to have revealed their illiteracy. I spent my early mornings during the next two years teaching both women, willing and able students, to read and to write.

My next experience with illiterates was during my Army days. I had many opportunities to help my buddies write to their families, and I often read letters they had received. It was later estimated that more than 600,000 G.I.s were illiterate.

In the 22 years I have spent directing the Syracuse University Reading and Language Arts Center, I have observed, diagnosed, and occasionally treated normal boys and girls and adults who could neither read nor write even though they had attended schools in our community.

During 1956-1957 I spent a year developing text materials in Phnom Penh, Cambodia. The principal problem of that tiny South East Asian country was illiteracy. A national effort was being made to give each child an opportunity to read and write in Khmer. A select group was also being taught to read, write, and speak in

French. A very few were taught English. It was obvious that Cambodia would not develop as a modern nation with a viable economy until the Cambodian people became literate enough to be educated in the technology of a modern society.

On my return from Cambodia I spent a brief period as a consultant to the Diebold Literacy Project. The major aim of this project was the development of programed materials through which illiterate Negroes living in the deep South and in Harlem could be taught to read.

During the summer of 1965, Ralph Staiger and I toured the world on the way to and from the annual meeting of WCOTP, held that year in Addis Ababa. We attended the subconference on world literacy and found that illiteracy was a major threat to the economic and political security of dozens of Asian and African nations. A lack of program, money, materials, and methods impeded progress in bringing literacy to the villages, rural areas, and even the major cities of countries representing one billion people.

Another exposure to the problem of illiteracy occurred in 1967 during a tour of Taiwan, Okinawa, and Hong Kong. The efforts in these three areas were random and only partially satisfactory. A visit to the settlement schools in Hong Kong with their capacity to handle less than ten percent of the illiterate refugee children who had flooded into the city from China suggested a major problem in this city clogged with a poverty-stricken population.

My experiences, then, during these past years have been enough to convince me that illiteracy is a major problem to mankind and one which can and must be eradicated in the next generation.

## Who Is the Illiterate?

The UNESCO committee on the standardization of education statistics states that:

> A person is literate when he has acquired the essential knowledges and skills which enable him to engage in all those activities in which literacy is required for effective functioning in his group and community.

For years in the state of New York the literate was one who could read successfully material written in English for fourth grade pupils. Today the level has been raised to the sixth grade, and the material can be written either in Spanish or English. In most of the world the literate is one who has attended school for five years.

## The Effect of Illiteracy

The illiterate has been described as a static, conservative, and tradition-bound individual, usually a very poor but a very busy person. Illiteracy is usually considered the chief barrier to personal and national progress. The lowest annual per capita income occurs in those countries with the highest rate of illiteracy.

We usually find that illiteracy is associated with the underproduction of everything except people. With it we find undernourishment, poor health and sanitation, the maldistribution of affluence, and, often, dissatisfaction and ignorance. What can the leaders of an illiterate country do to extricate their people from this blight? Uganda, for example, having 80 to 90 percent of its adult population illiterate and lacking schools for its children, has found that its national wealth is not sufficient to cope with both the irradication of illiteracy among adults and the prevention of illiteracy of its youth. The Ugandans have asked these questions: Should we start with children or adults? If we teach adults should we concentrate on males or females? It is said that if you teach a woman, you teach a family. But what happens to the adult male in a society where the female has the advantage of literacy? There is no easy solution to national illiteracy. It is obvious that the *have* nations must aid the *have-not* nations in the fight to eradicate illiteracy. The poor nation does not have the resources to aid its own people.

## Literacy in the United States

The general public is always surprised to learn that illiteracy is an important concern in the United States. Most individuals assume that illiteracy has long since been eliminated in our nation. It is regrettable, but true, that illiteracy is still a major problem in some parts of the United States; and, of course, illiteracy which affects any part of our nation also affects the whole nation.

Illiteracy is unevenly divided among the various states. For example, Washington and Oregon have less than 1 percent illiterates in their total adult population. Louisiana, on the other hand, has more than 6 percent. New York State estimates its illiterates to number 800,000 or more.

According to the 1960 United States census, 8,300,000 adults, 25 years or older, had received less than five years of schooling, which by some standards would suggest that they were illiterate. Also in the United States some 23,000,000 adults, 25 years or over, have had less than eight years of schooling. One might well ask, "Who are these illiterates, semiilliterates, or undereducated?" They are found among older persons, white and nonwhite, 65 years old or more. They are found on farms in all parts of the nation. They are often rural refugees now living in cities. They are also migrant farm workers. It is estimated that illiteracy costs our nation more than $825,000,000 annually—spent on welfare, illness, and underproduction. The cost in the loss of human dignity cannot be estimated.

One of the saddest notes in modern America is the one related to high school dropouts. As many as 500,000 adolescents drop out of school every year mainly for reasons of illiteracy and poverty. If an individual in any community wants to make a rough estimate of the number of actual or potential illiterates present in the community, he can note the number of high school dropouts, the number of persons older than 65, those with low incomes, and any recent rural migrants, white or black. Also added to these are French and Spanish speaking males.

It is felt by sociologists that the illiterate is an easy victim of the propaganda which issues from the mass media of radio, television, the movies, or mass meetings. They are easily influenced by foreign philosophies and are often gullible prey to swindlers and false leaders. We can gauge the possibility of riots in our cities by the percentage of illiterate and semiliterate males, white and black, clustered in our cities.

## The Problem in the Western Hemisphere

Our neighbors also suffer from the problem of illiteracy. Canada's problem is similar to but not quite so chronic as our own. It is probable that 3 to 4 percent of the national population can be classified as illiterates.

Illiteracy is a major issue in Central and South America. In Central America illiteracy plagues 40 percent of the thirty million adults. Mexico has led the way in Latin America in attempting to solve the illiteracy problem. Mexico has launched a nationwide television campaign aimed at developing five million literate adults. In South America, of 67 million adults, almost half are estimated to be illiterate.

In Brazil, not more than one half the population over five years of age is literate. In various other Latin American countries, illiteracy has actually increased during the past decade in spite of heroic internal and external efforts to combat it. The increase is due to the population explosion, lack of budget, and a lack of teachers.

## Illiteracy in the World

For the first time in the history of man, a worldwide agency, UNESCO, is dedicated to solving world illiteracy. In 1960, as nearly as it could be estimated, more than 700 million adults and adolescents could not read or write in their own spoken language.

The most significant areas of illiteracy are Africa, Asia, and Latin America. In India, Pakistan, Indonesia, and Vietnam, 80 percent of the entire population or 560,000,000 people are virtually illiterate. In Afghanistan, Saudi Arabia, French West Africa, and Ethiopia, 95-99 percent of adults are illiterate. In Liberia, with 600,000 persons over 15 years of age, 25,000 have had schooling above the third grade level.

During my aforementioned visit to Ethiopia, I listened while leaders from African and Asian countries discussed the issue of illiteracy and how they could best solve the problem with their slender resources. They raised such questions as these:

1. Should they tackle adult literacy or concentrate on primary education?
2. Should they attempt quality or quantity education?
3. Should they adopt approaches to literacy successful in other countries or develop their *own* approaches based on unique customs, language, and rational goals?

As far as the world problem is concerned, it seems obvious that funds from external sources, such as UNESCO or the *have* nations, must be spent to eradicate adult illiteracy and provide simultaneously for primary education.

In 1965 UNESCO developed five pilot literacy programs in Ecuador, Iran, Algeria, Tanzania, and Pakistan. In Ecuador, a three-cycle plan was instituted involving basic literacy education, raising adults to a third grade level, and then raising certain adults to a sixth grade level. The effort will be very broad at the basic level and gradually reduce in scope as adults demonstrate their ability to learn.

UNESCO has met with major problems in its initial efforts: 1) There is a lack of a trained teacher corps; 2) it seems unable to reach the most needy; 3) many of the students are migrants and drop out as they move on to their next work area; and 4) curriculum for illiterates needs development.

As far as the problem in the United States is concerned, it is obvious that we have not taken a proper view of the issue and have made little attempt to solve growing illiteracy on either a local or nationwide level. An example of our lack of focus is found in the fact that of the 15,200 school systems in the United States only 4,840 have adult education programs, and of these only 160 tackle basic illiteracy. We do have excellent examples of communities, such as Dallas, Memphis, New Orleans, Philadelphia, and sections of Northern Alabama, where massive community efforts are gradually reducing illiteracy significantly. Some companies, such as Shell Oil and Yellow Cab, are hiring and training illiterates.

It is thought that commercial companies provide the best means of approaching illiterate adults and teaching them to read and write while employed. Kodak and Xerox Companies are examples of two

American organizations which are now attempting to employ and teach illiterates. The number of companies presently involved are too few to produce a significant effect. It is obvious, however, that companies will have to participate in eradicating both poverty and illiteracy if our cities are to be secure from massive rioting and accompanying destruction and death.

For the future we must keep in mind that almost 25 percent of the world's adults are illiterate. We must also note that pockets of hate and destruction in the world are found in areas where poverty, ignorance, and illiteracy abound and that the most sensitive political areas of the world, Africa, Asia, and Latin America, have rates of illiteracy as high as 90 percent in some of their countries.

We know that economic and social success is related to literacy and that war and other disasters are related to illiteracy. We must put our ingenuity and money to work on local, national, and international levels, utilizing every possible agency to eliminate illiteracy.

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# Auditory and Visual Word Recognition in Beginning Adult Readers*

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ONE of the differences often mentioned between children and adults who are learning to read is the fact that adults are so much more experienced in listening to the language. By implication, their more extensive histories as listeners should influence the rate at which they learn to read, or, at least, should somehow alter the process in some discernible way. To say this is to state the obvious, of course, perhaps even to indulge in trivia and, yet, the statement very nearly exhausts our understanding of how adults integrate their knowledge of the language gained primarily through listening with their newly acquired knowledge of language in its written form.

The ability to compare information across sensory modalities is very likely to be a critical factor, and several investigators have been studying the way children match visual and auditory information. Among their findings is evidence that a developmental trend exists, with children reaching a plateau in their ability to integrate auditory and visual information at about nine or ten years of age (*2*). They have also demonstrated that among school age children it is possible to differentiate normal from slow readers of comparable intelligence on the basis of their accuracy in comparing nonverbal stimulus patterns across sensory modalities (*1*).

In this study, an exploratory attempt was made to investigate cross-modality matching among beginning adult readers, within the quite limited context of word recognition skills. The specific aim of

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the study was to assess the possibility that a deficit in cross-modality matching might be potentially useful as a diagnostic and predictive indicator of the rate at which adults learn to read.

The subjects in this study were 178 adults enrolled in basic reading classes offered by the public schools in Flint, Michigan. Most were women between 30 and 55 years of age, and the group was about evenly divided between white and Negro. All had less than a grade school education. Prior to the collection of data on cross-modality word recognition, all students were given the Adult Basic Reading Inventory, and the mean score for the entire group was 99.

The word recognition task itself involved the comparison of words under four conditions and required two types of judgment on the part of the subject.

The four conditions were the auditory-auditory match, the auditory-visual match, the visual-auditory match, and the visual-visual match.

The auditory-auditory match, or the auditory recognition of a word the subject had heard a moment before, was by far the easiest of the four conditions. The subject heard a word pronounced and then, following a two-second interval, he heard another word. The subject decided whether the two words were identical and circled either the response "same" or "different" printed on his answer sheet. This same-or-different judgment we have called the single-stimulus type. Another version of the auditory-auditory match presented the listener with a stimulus word such as "chair" and then after a brief interval, two words in succession—for example, "stair . . . chair." His task was to decide which of the two, the first or the second, was the same as "chair," and circle either the "one" or "two" on his answer sheet. This judgment was designated the "pair comparison" type. These two types of judgment were required for items under each of the four conditions.

The second condition was the auditory-visual match—the visual recognition of a word previously heard.

The third condition was the visual-auditory match—the auditory recognition of a word previously seen.

And the fourth condition was the visual-visual match—the visual recognition of a word previously seen.

There were 160 items constructed altogether, 40 for each of the four conditions, 20 requiring one type of response and 20 requiring the other type. These design details are summarized in Table 1. The order in which subjects were exposed to the four conditions was uniform, and followed the sequence listed in the table.

TABLE 1

CLASSIFICATION OF VARIABLES

| | *Single Stimulus* (SS) | *Pair Comparison* (PC) |
|---|---|---|
| Auditory-Auditory (AA) | 20 items | 20 items |
| Auditory-Visual (AV) | 20 | 20 |
| Visual-Auditory (VA) | 20 | 20 |
| Visual-Visual (VV) | 20 | 20 |

In constructing the items, all words were selected from functional word lists for adults and from frequency listings compiled from transcripts of spontaneous spoken language. In order to reduce and control some of the cues which are utilized in word recognition, the words used in any particular item varied only in their initial letters. The terminal sequences of letters were identical. This control on the complexity of the recognition task was prompted by the fact that the initial letters of a word tend to carry the most information (*3*).

Subjects were exposed to instructions and test items in a coordinated tape-slide presentation. Items followed one another in rapid succession with about three seconds allowed for each response.

In analyzing the data, the subjects were assigned to two groups on the basis of their performance on the Adult Basic Reading Inventory. The two groups consisted of subjects scoring above and below the group mean. We next compared the profiles of the four word recognition tasks for the two groups. In Figure 1, the profiles are graphically presented for the high and low scoring groups. It is immediately apparent that the profiles are not similar in their patterns. We cannot describe adequately the performance of the below-mean group as being simply lower than that of the above-mean group. It *is*, of course; but even if the profiles were superimposed, they would remain very dissimilar. The difference in the shape of the two profiles is statistically significant. It is also apparent from Figure 1 that the word recognition task which was most sensitive in separating the two groups was the visual-auditory mode—the auditory recognition of a word which had been previously presented visually.

These results encouraged us to consider the possibility that poor performance in the visual/auditory matching of words might be

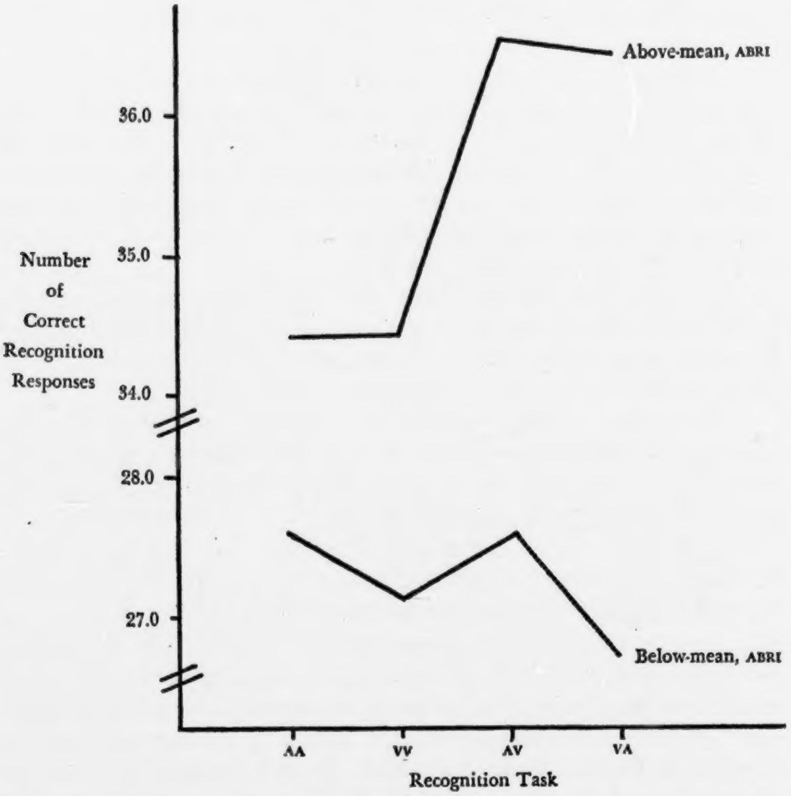


FIGURE 1. Profiles of scores on the four recognition tasks for two groups of subjects, differentiated on the basis of their performance on the Adult Basic Reading Inventory (ABRI).

related to poor performance in learning to read. A demonstration that this specific ability was predictive of reading level at some future time would provide stronger evidence that cross-modality comparisons play an important role in learning to read.

For this reason we retested some of the subjects who were still attending classes five months later. For various administrative reasons, we were able to include only 40 of the original 178 students in the follow up. Fortunately, for our study, the proportion of students unavailable for retesting was about the same for the original high and low groups (31 and 34 percents, respectively). So there was little systematic bias introduced into our sample.

Using as our dependent variable the scores on the Adult Basic Reading Inventory collected the second time it was given and using as our independent variables the scores on each of the four word recognition tasks, we did a stepwise multiple regression analysis. As might be expected, the four recognition tasks, taken together, were quite good predictors of performance on the achievement test. The multiple correlation coefficient was .81.

But the order in which the four tasks were entered into the regression formula was especially interesting. The visual-auditory matching task was the best predictor of the four, accounting itself for nearly 60 percent of the total predicted variance.

There was a suspicion, however, that the relationship between the visual-auditory task and the reading scores depended upon whether the subject was a superior or poor reader, defined in terms of this group. Thus, we further divided the group of 31 into two subgroups, on the basis of scores on the second administration of the Reading Inventory, and recalculated the multiple correlations. We found that for subjects whose achievement test scores fell below the group mean, that visual-auditory matching was still the best predictor. But for the subjects above the mean, the visual-visual task was best—the visual recognition of a word previously seen. In contrast, the visual-auditory task was relatively unimportant. In Figure 2, we have plotted the percent of total variance for which the two recognition tasks accounted, and have placed the high and low groups side by side for comparison. We can see that the two tasks almost reverse roles as predictors of reading achievement, depending on the level of achievement. For the below-mean group, the visual-auditory task accounts for 73 percent of the predicted variance in reading achievement scores, while the visual-visual task accounts for only 15 percent. On the other hand, visual-visual matching accounts for 67 percent of the variance for the above-mean group, while visual-auditory matching accounts for only 18 percent. It is significant that the two tasks are rather highly correlated ($r = .84$) for the above-mean group but much less so for the below-mean group ($r = .34$). These results sug-

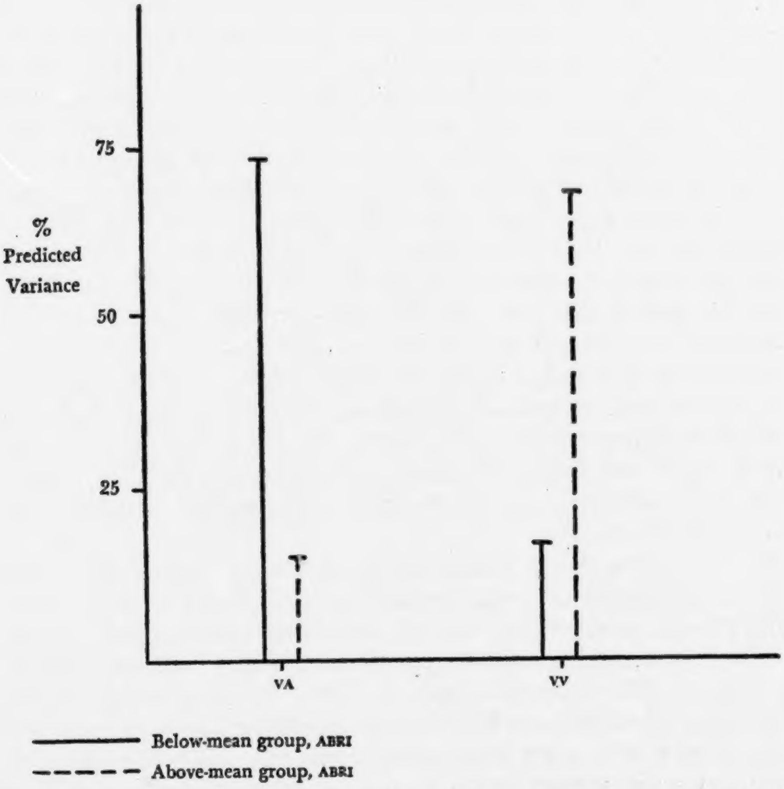
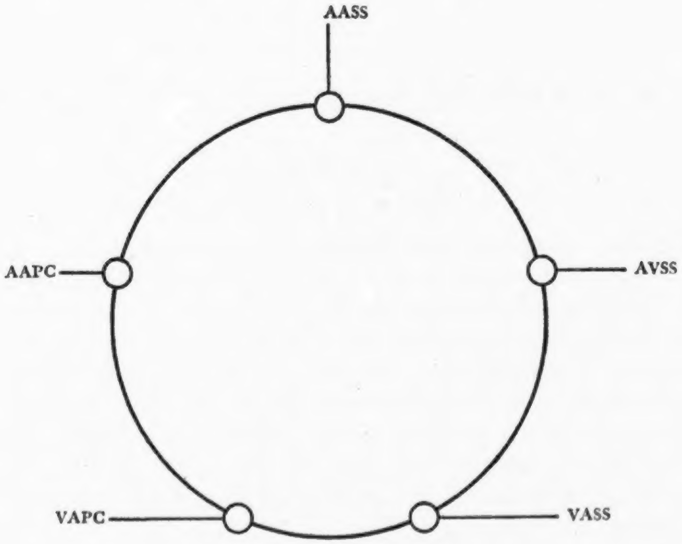


FIGURE 2. Relative contributions which performance on the VA and VV tasks made toward predicting *Ss*' reading levels after five months of classroom instruction. Groups were established on basis of ABRI scores at end of instruction.

gest that the ability to match words across sensory modalities, especially in making auditory comparisons with words previously seen, is an important factor in learning to read at lower levels of proficiency. But it is a less important factor at higher levels of proficiency, where the ability to make visual comparisons of words appears to be more critical.

Further support for our interpretation that the listening component in reading is differentiated from the visual component was provided when we examined the relationships among the recognition tasks. To graphically depict these complex relationships, we constructed a circumplex, which is found in Figure 3. A circumplex is a circular rank-ordering of tasks, so arranged that—tracing around the circumference—contiguous tasks are most highly correlated, while tests on the opposite side show the lowest correlations. In a correlation matrix which exhibits a circular rank order, the correlations are largest next to the principal diagonal, which runs from the upper left to lower right hand corner. Moving away from the diagonal entry, the correlations first decrease and then begin to increase in a consistent way. This systematic descending-ascending pattern is observed in both the rows and the columns of the matrix. The circumplex in Figure 3 shows that all three tasks with an auditory component are linked together. That is, the auditory-auditory, auditory-visual, and visual-auditory matching tasks can be rank ordered in a consistent circular fashion. Note also that the two types of responses also fit into the pattern: the single stimulus comparisons all occupy adjacent positions around the circumplex, as do the pair comparison responses.

We believe that it is meaningful that the visual-visual task could not be integrated into the circumplex. It could not be made to fit the pattern, a fact which suggests that visual matching may not involve any mediating auditory component. Visual matching may be a separate skill which influences the rate of learning in readers at a relatively advanced stage but which at an earlier stage is of secondary importance. It is at the earlier stage where the ability to make comparisons across sensory modes plays a central role, especially skill in the auditory recognition of words which had been visually presented. This is the skill which may permit the learner to integrate his new



CIRCUMPLEX MATRIX

| TEST | AASS | AVSS | VASS | VAPC | AAPC |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| AASS | 1.000 | 0.490 | 0.469 | 0.478 | 0.518 |
| AVSS | 0.490 | 1.000 | 0.638 | 0.572 | 0.403 |
| VASS | 0.469 | 0.638 | 1.000 | 0.637 | 0.468 |
| VAPC | 0.478 | 0.572 | 0.637 | 1.000 | 0.691 |
| AAPC | 0.518 | 0.403 | 0.468 | 0.691 | 1.000 |

FIGURE 3. A circumplex showing the relationship among various recognition tasks.

knowledge about visual forms with his existing knowledge of the spoken language, gained through years of listening.

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# Reading Instruction for Basic Adult Literacy

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IT IS rather unusual to find a junior college that has an adult continuing education center with a basic education and vocational program, a high school equivalency program, and the customary short-term vocational and avocational adult programs; yet, this is the kind of center to be found at Danville Junior College in Danville, Illinois. This center should not be so unusual, for the junior college seems the proper place for adults to attend school. The college surroundings provide the adult with a measure of prestige which is lacking when he must return to a common school setting to resume his education.

## Informal Testing Used to Place Students in Classes

In the fall, prospective students are interviewed by counselors before school begins. From conversation, the type of answers given to questions, the amount of assistance needed to fill out the application forms, and the use of the Harris Graded Word List and the Informal Textbook Test contained in the *Curriculum Guide to Basic Education,* Intermediate Level (a publication of the United States Office of Education), the counselors determine the levels where the students should begin. Students are informed that their classes may be only temporary until the teachers decide whether placements are correct. After one week the teachers and counselors meet to discuss any schedule changes which need to be made. The decisions rest on the students' needs in mathematics and reading; if the differences are great in these two areas, mathematics ability takes priority. It is felt that group instruction is more essential in mathematics, and that wide ranges of individual differences can be handled more easily in the reading classes.

Five, fifty-minute classes are held daily, Monday through Friday, and additional classes are held on Tuesday and Thursday evenings from 7:00 to 9:00 P.M. At the introductory level, which is comparable to first throuh third grades, classes are taught in self-contained classrooms while the intermediate and high school equivalency level classes are taught in departmental situations. At the intermediate level, day students are scheduled for reading on Monday, Wednesday, and Friday; and the high school equivalency students meet on Tuesday and Thursday for reading.

Students may enroll in classes at any time during the year. Counselors take those students who enroll after the first week of school on a tour of the center, and they are introduced to their teachers. In this way an attempt is made to make new pupils feel relaxed and welcome.

## Formal Testing

In order to have a record of the overall success of the program and for an initial appraisal of the students' strengths and weaknesses, tests are given to students at the intermediate and higher levels during the first week of entry. The Nelson-Reading Test, grades three through nine, and the Nelson-Denny Reading Test, grade nine through adult, are used in reading classes. The particular test given is determined by the scores of the informal tests given by the counselors. Formal testing is not recommended for adults on the initial contact, because enrolling in school is sometimes a frightening experience. Making the new student self-conscious or apprehensive by being greeted with a battery of tests might cause him to not return to school, for he may remember school as being a long series of failures on tests.

Testing situations are always handled with care. The staff does everything possible to make the student feel comfortable and at ease. Teachers are careful to point out to the students that they no longer have to consider tests as threats since they will not pass or fail on the basis of their test scores. They are told that the tests are used to help decide which materials will be best for them to use. Directions are given and are repeated patiently as often as necessary so that the students are certain of what they are to do. While it is impossible to relieve all anxiety of students, testing usually does not prove to be a threat to them.

### Nongraded Structure of Program

A decision may be made at any of the monthly staff meetings to move a student from one level to another although most of these changes are made following the G.E.D. (high school equivalency) exams which are given three times each year. At these times students who are capable enter the special G.E.D. classes which are held prior to each of the examination dates.

Whenever it is possible, students from the introductory level go to one of the higher level classes for those subjects in which they have the ability to do more difficult work; yet, they still remain in the security of the self-contained classroom for those subjects in which they still need much individual attention.

### Individualized Instruction

From the description of the program, it must be obvious that the key for teaching adults at the center is individualized instruction, which is both an effective and a necessary method in adult education. With such wide ranges in age, social and educational experience, and ability, a plan designed to fit the individual brings the most satisfying results. Individualized instruction also permits enrollment of students at any time during the year. It works well in combating instructional problems caused by the irregular attendance resulting from adult responsibilities. Teaching a lesson to an entire class is not often possible because it is seldom that all students in a class are present at one time. Certain basic lessons may be reserved for group instruction at times when most of the class is present. Since the teacher cannot keep repeating a lesson for those who were absent when the lesson was presented, individualized instruction minimizes the absentee problem. Each member of the class can work on a different lesson, and each can progress at his own rate. Thus, the mother who has been absent six weeks because one by one her children came down with the chicken pox can resume her studies without feeling that she is behind the class. The teacher simply consults the records of the student's progress, and the student resumes her studies.

### Special Problems in Teaching Adults

Poor attendance is not the only problem instructors face in teaching adults. Most of the instructors at the center have attended institutes in adult education, and inservice workshops are held at the center. Although most of the instructors hold master's degrees, none are in adult education; for the field is so new there have been few opportunities even to take courses in adult education. The center has a professional library and the publications *Swap Shop* and *Techniques,* of the National Association for Public School Adult Education, and the magazines *Adult Leadership* and *Adult Education,* published by the Adult Education Association, provide much useful information on teaching adults.

The first problem the teacher encounters with the adult student has already been mentioned—namely, the fears that he may have about attending school. It may have taken much courage for him to even enter the building the first day. With patience and understanding these fears can be lessened. The teacher who admits to the students that he doesn't know the answers to every question, but can help the students find the answers, makes the student feel more confident. There should be an informal atmosphere in the classroom. Many times discussions are held as to why students didn't finish school when they were younger. When the people find that others have reasons similar to theirs and that the teacher accepts and understands these reasons, these adults are not so self-conscious about the fact that they do not have an education. Such seemingly ridiculous reasons—at least from a teacher's point of view—as being called a "sissy" or accused of "putting on airs" by members of his peer group have caused good students to do poor work and finally drop out of school.

Teachers must show genuine interest in the students and their problems. A card file with students' addresses is kept at the center so that teachers can call or write the student who has been absent several days to let him know he is missed.

The teacher must keep in mind both the basic principles of learning and the special problems connected with teaching adults. The adult learner must see quick results in his learning; the materials must be meaningful, and each lesson should have a goal that the student can obtain. He must be provided plenty of practice materials, and a variety of materials and techniques must be used in order that each student can have experiences which appeal to him. Adults are motivated to learn or they wouldn't be in school, but the teacher must praise their efforts so that they remain motivated. They must be encouraged to contribute to the class; for although they may not be able to read or write, they have a background of knowledge gained from their experiences. They need many chances to feel successful in their classroom environment. The following is a list of the special problems of adult learners not similar to problems of child learners:

- Adults are tired after working or caring for a family
- Adults can learn as well as young children, but the learning may take longer
- Adults are eager to learn and are sometimes impatient when they do not seem to progress as rapidly as they wish
- Adults must see some relationship of the lessons to their needs in raising a family and in their vocations
- Adults have more sight and hearing difficulties than children
- Adults have little time for homework

These special problems must be kept in mind when teaching and when choosing materials to be used.

## Choosing Materials

There should be as much variety in materials and equipment as the budget will permit in adult education. In selecting or preparing materials, the following point should be considered:

1. Materials should be appropriate for the kinds of students

to be taught. Are they farmers? migrant workers? or factory workers?

2. Lessons must provide practice for varying abilities.
3. Materials and activities should be about familiar and interesting subjects.
4. Materials, even at the beginning levels, should have vocabularies suitable for adults.
5. Beginning materials should have short sentences, and large type and double spacing should be used.
6. Readability levels of materials should be checked.
7. Each lesson should teach one or two concepts which the student can master so that he can feel successful.
8. Lessons should be in sequential and logical order.
9. Lessons should be presented so that the students can go ahead by themselves much of the time.
10. Some materials should pertain to life situations, such as homemaking, vocational opportunities, citizenship rights and duties, and recreational reading.

These underlying principles guide the instructors in the center as they work with the students and as they choose materials to use with each student.

### Objectives for Teaching Reading

During the first year the center opened, the following list of objectives was devised by the teachers:

1. Teach reading as a developmental process
2. Determine and provide reading readiness experiences
3. Develop verbal concepts and word recognition
4. Develop the ability to communicate ideas and information
5. Develop comprehension of ideas that words represent
6. Develop the ability to comprehend and read for information
7. Develop critical thinking and constructive discussion
8. Encourage application of reading abilities in solving daily problems

9. Develop study skills and habits
10. Instill a desire for worthwhile recreational reading

### Teaching on the Introductory Level

As is true at all the levels, a variety of approaches is used in finding the best way to teach each student at the introductory level. The Gray Oral Reading Paragraphs are used to determine the functional level of each student. Students are taught the alphabet if they do not already know it. Much time is spent in discussions before reading instruction is begun because many students do not talk in complete sentences when starting school and it is necessary for them to build a verbal background. Using articles in the newspaper, *News for You,* Edition A (Laubach Literacy); subjects which relate to their daily lives; historical events; and information about the workings of government provide topics for conversations which are of interest to adults.

Many times discussions about the different meanings of the same word result in amusing incidents. One day a class was using the word *change* in sentences. Such examples as *change a tire, change clothes,* and *making change* had been used when one lady came up with *change the baby.* A lady who happened to be a foreign student got very excited and exclaimed, "Oh, no! You couldn't do that!"

Teachers find that adults have to overcome language difficulties, such as adding "s" to words where none is needed and dropping the "s" where there should be one. However, adults do seem to acquire a larger sight vocabulary more quickly than children do because adults have a larger experience with the spoken word; therefore, reading instruction is begun with the sight approach.

Most of the time experience charts are not used with the entire group because there are seldom two students at the same level; thus, the teacher works with the individual on experience stories which the student writes and then reads with the teacher's help. Writing the words reinforces the learning. Replicas of signs which the students see in everyday surroundings are displayed so that the students may learn to read them. The techniques that are used to teach reading to children, such as matching words, pointing out similarities and differences, and rhyming, may be used with adults. The challenge for the teacher is do these things on an adult level. The goal is for the students to find that reading is pleasurable; the instructor must find the best method for teaching the students to read and to enjoy reading.

Some of the materials used can be found in any primary grade classroom. The Dolch Basic Sight Words cards and SRA Reading Laboratory are used. The Garrard Press *Discovery Books* series, and the Harr Wagner biographies and *Deep Sea Adventure* series are on the bookshelves. But there are many materials which were prepared especially for adults. One series which provides continuity in a sight picture approach is the Steck-Vaughn texts *Working with Words, Working with Word Patterns,* and *Building Word Power.* From *Words to Stories* and *Operation Alphabet* are also good to use with the sight method. Steck-Vaughn, Noble and Noble, the Allied Education Council, publisher of the *Mott Basic Language Skills Program,* are pioneers in the publication of adult materials. Flashcards, either teacher-made or those accompanying the texts, are used for practice also.

The Language Master has been found to be a valuable tool in teaching word recognition, improvement of vocabularies, pronunciation of words, and improvement of speech. It is particularly useful in helping foreign students learn English. This machine uses cards similar to data processing cards. On some cards there are a picture and the word naming the object. On other cards are printed sentences, or phrases, and some cards are blank for teacher-made material. At the bottom of the card is a strip of recording tape on which an instructor pronounces the words. The student records his own pronunciation of the words, and then he can listen to both the instructor and himself and compare the pronunciations.

When students have acquired a good sight reading vocabulary, phonics instruction may be introduced. However, if the instructor finds a student who has difficulty with this approach, he is not pushed. The M. W. Sullivan materials are used for supplementary work and phonic drills; and as the students progress, the *Mott* materials, which are based on phonics, are sometimes used. When the student can read independently, S.R.A. materials are started. Each student is allowed to work with the materials which seem best suited to his needs and abilities. Actually, on all levels, every lesson is a reading lesson whether it is in mathematics, English, history, or science. The class may read an easy story about Columbus which may lead the better reader to some in-depth reading in the encyclopedia.

Many ways are used to check the progress of the students. In addition to teacher evaluations, many of the texts have progress tests. The Dolch Basic Sight Word Test is used, and the Adult Basic Learning Examination one of the few tests designed especially for adults, is used occasionally.

### Teaching on the Intermediate Level and Above

At the intermediate and higher levels, students are divided into five groups. Level I is comparable to grade four; Level II, grades five and six; Level III, grades seven and eight; Level IV, grade nine and up; and the G.E.D. level. At the G.E.D. level, students concentrate on literature appreciation. Since these students are not considered a part of the basic literacy program, their work will not be mentioned again. Students in the other four levels spend approximately nine weeks in the reading laboratory and nine weeks in a classroom situation, in keeping with a suggestion found in a study by Mayhew and Weaver which dealt with four different methods of teaching reading. It was noted that by concentrating on a textbook approach for several weeks and then using mechanical devices for several weeks, students were easier to motivate although they did not make any greater gains than the other two groups which also showed improvement. Since motivating the adult student is important, this scheduling has been used. The longer periods of time in either the lab or the classroom also limit the amount of confusion for students as to which room they are supposed to be in for reading class.

At Levels I and II, the *Mott* materials provide an integration of reading, spelling, and English skills. Each skill reinforces the other; much written practice is provided, and the stories can be used to stimulate discussions about problems pertaining to everyday life. A review of phonic and structural elements and dictionary practices are included. For schools with low budgets, or with inexperienced teachers, these materials offer a good start in adult education. Edition B of *News for You* is also available for these students. This edition seems better fitted to the students than Edition A at the introductory level. The teachers at that level feel that a simpler edition is needed for beginning students.

At Levels I and II, SRA laboratories IIb and IIIa are used. Although not written for adults, the tone of the language used—even on the lower levels—is suitable; and the stories are interesting to adults. After reading the stories which would be helpful to the students in their science or history classes, the students may choose the stories they wish to read. The instructor checks every fifth lesson with the student. If the scores on this lesson and the preceding lessons are good, the student is allowed to move up a level. While checking these lessons periodically, the teacher has a chance to have the student read orally, and any problems the student seems to have can be discussed. This periodic checking discourages cheating; for no matter how often the teacher tries to convince students that they won't be considered "dumb" for making mistakes, there are always those students who feel that they must have correct answers even if they have to cheat to get them. It is very difficult to convince some students that they can learn from correcting their mistakes.

Many educators fear using programed materials because of the fear that students will cheat. However, studies have shown that a student who follows the procedures with programed materials will learn from the experience of working with the materials even if he copies the answers in the final step. Most adults who cheat when they first begin attending classes do so because they are unsure of their ability, but they soon learn to play the game according to the rules when discovering no one is threatened by failing grades since no grades are given. Those who continue to cheat discover that when it comes time for any summary tests, they cannot do the work they are supposed to know how to do.

It is important that students understand the reasons for the teacher's conducting this "do-it-yourself" kind of school. Students must be convinced that they are capable of carrying on their work alone, and that in the long run this knowledge teaches them to be independent. They also can understand the attendance problem and can see it is to their advantage not to have to wait for the rest of the class. They need to recognize the teacher is there more to help them than to tell them what to do, but they must not feel self-conscious about having to ask for help. The teacher can occasionally make statements, such as "I'm here to help you," and "Don't be afraid to ask me for help." It is also a good idea to walk around the room, stopping by each student to ask, "Do you need any help?"

The tachistoscope and the Language Master can be used at these levels also. The Language Master is used in the same ways as at the introductory level. The tachistoscope is used to increase "seeing" skills, that is, for rapid recognition and interpretation of symbols; to teach and extend sight vocabularies; and to teach structural and phonic analysis. The teacher must watch for signs of anxiety which may indicate the adults are being pushed too hard, and the length of drill time must be judged accordingly.

At Levels III and IV, the basic materials used are SRA laboratories IIIa and IVa and the educational *Reader's Digest,* in addition to the materials available in the reading laboratory. *Mott* materials are used as supplementary materials at this level, and a library of approximately three hundred paperback books is on hand in the reading laboratory and in the classroom. Students in Levels I and II may use these library books also. EDL *Reading 300 Library B* and Steck-Vaughn soft cover adult library books make up the bulk of the materials in this library.

The reading laboratory is equipped with fifteen carrels, each wired with individual headphones for listening to any of three taped lessions which may be played simullaneously. Each carrel also contains a Controlled Reader, Jr. (EDL) for reading rate training. In addition five skimmers (EDL) for skimming and scanning practice are in the laboratory. These are used when a student is reading at about ninth grade level, at the rate of 450 words per minute.

Before the students begin to work with the Controlled Readers, they are given the SRA Reading for Understanding placement test. Most students can get the first fifty answers correctly; therefore, an adequate judgment of starting levels can be found by starting with item fifty-one of the test. These materials offer practice in reading paragraphs for comprehension rather than practice with basic reading skills, such as word attack skills or reading to find the answers to questions. Since it is not necessary to complete this work in one session, the materials are useful in the reading laboratory. It is difficult for an instructor to start a class on the Controlled Reader because individual instruction is needed to be certain that the students know how to use the machines. The Reading for Understanding materials can be used by the students until the instructor can teach each of them to use the Controlled Reader. After everyone has learned to use the Controlled Readers, the students do a Controlled Reader lesson first and then spend the remainder of the laboratory session using Reading for Understanding.

To determine the starting level of each student on the Controlled Reader materials, the SRA reading laboratory scores and the Reading for Understanding scores are used. The Word Clues tests (EDL) work well also for placement in rate training materials; the levels range from fourth to fourteenth grade. Each student uses a workbook containing stories which are previewed, along with a study of new words introduced in the story. Next, a filmstrip with the complete story on it is read. The student then answers ten comprehension questions about the story. A record is kept of speeds and comprehension scores on each story. Except for the answer sheets, the materials are used nonconsummably.

Most students start reading at a speed of 180 words per minute on the Controlled Readers. It seems that 120 words per minute is too slow for most of the students, and they get restless and do not concentrate as well on the stories. A student keeps increasing his speed as long as his comprehension scores are above 80 percent. Below this level the rate is kept the same. Occasionally, when a student continues to do poorly at a slow speed, the rate is increased to see if the first speed was too slow. Most of the time, however, continuing low comprehension scores indicate the material is too difficult for the student.

After every five lessons, Reading Efficiency Checks (EDL) are given. These tests are on the same levels as the filmstrip stories, and the student is timed while reading from a regular workbook. These materials are used to try to help the student transfer increases in rate to a normal reading situation. Most adults are sure that they cannot read any faster than they do. So often the statement is heard, "I can't understand anything unless I read it over two or three times." One student who for many weeks was not able to finish an SRA card or a Controlled Reader lesson in one class period, finally was able to do both. She remarked that she had discovered that she really could read faster than she thought she could.

It takes much encouragement from the teacher to convince the students that they don't actually need to "see" every word to understand most of what they read. When students first begin using the Controlled Readers, they are told not to worry about getting several answers wrong because they have to have time to get adjusted to using the machines. Students also are reminded that they have proved that they can read and find answers to questions in their other reading and that the idea of this new kind of lesson is for them to learn to read faster. Most students soon adjust to this novel way of reading and come to enjoy being in the laboratory. Because reading and listening are closely related, the *Listen and Read* and *Listen and Write* (EDL) tapes are used to present new lessons and for practice on skills.

The center has many other kinds of equipment which the teachers use in their classroom. Each desk has an overhead projector which proves invaluable in presenting new lessons and reviewing old lessons. Teacher-made transparencies prove helpful in teaching such things as letter sounds, syllabication, and using diacritical marks. The opaque projector is used to present the student's stories to the class for group reading. Test papers may be placed on the machine, and the teacher can point out important ideas to the class. Tape recorders are used by the students to practice, to listen to their oral reading, and to improve their speech patterns.

At the Adult Continuing Education Center in Mattoon, Illinois, a video tape machine is available, and many introductory lessons are taped so that the teacher does not have to repeat instructions to the continuing stream of new students entering the program. Lessons also can be taped to enable students to make up lessons they missed during absences.

Teachers in the Danville center have devised many kinds of answer sheets to minimize the cost of materials. For the lessons which require expensive workbooks, acetate sheets, and grease marking pencils are used sometimes so that workbooks need not be consumed.

In the final analysis, no matter what kinds of materials are used, adult students will fail to learn if their needs are not met. The teacher of adults must treat them as the mature persons they are. He must accept their morals, overlook their faults, not talk down to them, and treat them as equals. Adult students are not members of the captive audience found in the common school. Unless they feel accepted, they may become dropouts for perhaps the last time.

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# Possible Limiting Factors in Teaching Adults to Read

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IN THE preliminary research phase of an adult literacy materials development project, with which the present writer was associated (*4*), both interview and questionnaire studies were conducted with teachers of adult illiterates. In the questionnaire study a stratified, random sample of such teachers throughout the country was drawn through the help of state directors of adult education and administrators of local literacy programs. Questionnaires were actually sent to teachers in 97 programs in 39 states. A total of 227 teachers returned the questionnaires, and of these, 201 were usable.

Among many items, the teachers were asked to identify the number of students in their classes who had been handicapped in learning to read by certain factors. It was emphasized that some of the factors might never have been a handicap while others may have impeded all students.

When the responses were tabulated and the data analyzed, it was found that four factors had accounted for over 60 percent of the total number of responses. It is the purpose of this paper to discuss three of these factors and to suggest possible procedures to present these handicaps from impeding the progress of adult illiterates in improving their reading skills.

## Use of Substandard English

The factor identified most often by the 201 teachers as handicapping large numbers of adult illiterates in learning to read was the use of substandard English. An interview study involving 33 teachers of adult illiterates also confirmed that most teachers are aware and concerned about their students' use of English (*4*). In these interviews, specific examples cited by the teachers dealt with verb tenses and the dropping of word endings.

In the interviews, as contrasted with the questionnaire responses, the teachers were split on the issue as to whether their students' use of English interfered with learning to read. It is interesting to note, however, that although there was some question among the teachers interviewed as to the importance of this factor, 92 percent of them reported correcting their students in class.

Perhaps the solution to this problem appears obvious. If an adult illiterate does use English in inferior ways and the material he will read is written in standard, correct English, then his English should be corrected and improved so that it comes into line with the reading material. It would appear that the teachers interviewed had chosen this course of action.

This writer would like to suggest that this problem and its solution are not that obvious. In the first place, a number of linguists such as Roger Shuy (*5*) have conducted studies of urban ghetto children's language and have concluded that it is misleading to label these children's language usage as inferior or substandard. Rather, the linguistic systems of such children are *different* in a number of identifiable ways from that of so-called standard English. Labeling these children's usage as *inferior* places a value judgment on it which is not defensible and which may result in unfortunate negative teacher attitudes toward youngsters and their language. Since adult illiterates are often the parents of these children, the same principle would appear to be relevant.

In addition (perhaps) to the need to change one's attitude towards the language patterns of the adult illiterate, there is another course of action which should be explored. Rather than adjusting the adult to the materials, perhaps the material should be adjusted to suit the adult learner. In other words, the suggestion is that the adult's own language patterns and usage be the basis for the writing of initial reading material. This plan would necessitate, as Joan Baratz (*1*) has pointed out with children, the development of "transition" material that would move the adult, once he had mastered reading in the vernacular, to standard English writing.

In the absence of any published materials for adults which do treat the matter in this way, teachers might well turn to a type of language experience approach where the adults' own ideas and thoughts become the initial reading content. The key point, under this proposal, would be that to begin with, these ideas and thoughts would be recorded just as the adults express them. This is a step that many teachers of children who have used a language experience story have not been willing to take. In these days of probing and experimenting with various approaches to teach adults to read, the idea would seem worth pursuing.

### Restricted Speaking and Listening Vocabularies

Another impeding factor considered important by the 201 teachers in the questionnaire study was the restricted speaking and listening vocabularies of adult illiterates. In the interview study, 97 percent of the teachers also indicated that their students' spoken vocabulary levels were considerably lower than those of the general population.

The previous discussion concerning language usage would seem pertinent here. It may be a gross oversimplification to say that the adult illiterates' vocabulary level is lower than that of the general population. If the difference principle with respect to vocabulary does hold merit, then the earlier recommendation for making use of a language experience approach should receive even more consideration.

In addition to utilizing the vocabulary of the adult student in the initial stages of reading instruction, it appears that it is time to consider seriously the whole concept of reading readiness in working with such students. Brown (*3*) stated that his research and experience had indicated that any successful instruction with adult illiterates must be based on the development of experiential readiness programs.

In this connection Berke (*2*) found that adult maturity as indicated by chronological age was no guarantee of reading readiness. For example, all the students in his study were found to be lacking in the all-important auditory and visual discrimination skills.

What does one mean by reading readiness? One important aspect of a good reading readiness program for children is the developing of oral and aural vocabulary so that the children's background of experience and their ability to talk about their experiences are enhanced. Providing a variety of experiences and then having children discuss what they know and what they have experienced have been found to have an effect on their subsequent success in reading instruction, and there is no reason why similar procedures would not bear fruit with adults. This information suggests that adult literacy programs should make use of various audiovisual materials and provide situations in which adults can discuss what they have seen or heard.

If Berke's finding about the visual and auditory discrimination skills of his adult students does hold true generally for such groups, and this writer believes it does, then this traditional aspect of reading readiness must be included in adult literacy programs. If the adult illiterate cannot see the difference between two letters or two words and cannot hear the difference between two sounds, then the acquisition of either a sight vocabulary or phoneme-grapheme relationships is greatly hindered.

The review of available published materials by the staff of the Missouri Literacy Project revealed that most of the materials were found to be deficient in providing exercises and instruction in these regards and thereby requiring teachers to devise their own lessons and exercises and incorporate them into the materials being used.

## Irregular Attendance

The 201 teachers in the questionnaire study felt that many of their adult students were handicapped in their progress by patterns of irregular attendance. Indeed, attempts to try out the materials developed in the Missouri project were hindered greatly by the frequent absence of the students in the experimental classes.

There are often logical explanations for these absences on the part of adult students. Family responsibilities and problems are often the reasons for both the irregular attendance and eventual dropouts from a literacy program.

Certainly, programs must include provisions for staff and resources so that students' absences can be followed up. This statement does not mean the use of some type of truant officer but rather that staff personnel should be used to determine what the problem is and whether the program can be adjusted or resources made available to help with the situation. Certain programs have, for example, found it necessary to provide child care services in order to enable adult students to attend class. In other cases, means of transportation have been provided for students who find it very difficult to get to where the classes are being held.

In those first few weeks of instruction in a literacy program, the adult student may become quite frustrated and may seriously question his ability to ever learn the skills being taught. His fears and anxieties may then lead to finding other reasons for not attending the class regularly. Perhaps the objectives of the program and the rationale for the materials and procedures have not been made clear to him and he questions the relevancy of the program but does not say anything to anyone. If these and other possible reasons are commonly behind the frequent absences, then it appears obvious that programs should provide counseling services for such students.

Of course, it could be that the student has raised legitimate question about the relevancy of the program. It may be that the program is not relevant and is not designed to meet his needs. The solution to his absences and eventual withdrawal from the program is a change in direction of the program itself. If those involved in administering the program or teaching in it never raise these questions with the students, then no changes will be made, and the adult student simply turns away from the program.

## Summary

It has been the intent of this paper to discuss various factors which teachers have considered as handicaps impeding the progress of the adult illiterate in learning to read. The writer hopes that he has been able to clarify the issues involved for each of these factors and to provide suggestions which could be implemented or, at least, which can stimulate others to make better suggestions.

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# Resources for Adult Education

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THE NEA Adult Education Clearinghouse (NAEC) and the ERIC Clearinghouse on Adult Education (ERIC/AE) have cosponsored this presentation on finding and using information in order to help teachers and administrators become more aware of the rapidly growing body of experience and tested knowledge in adult education. In this paper we have listed all of the sources mentioned in the multimedia presentation and some others we think may be useful.

In addition, we hope that this multimedia presentation may encourage teachers and administrators of reading programs for adult basic education learners to use the multimedia approach in presenting their own programs. May we add that this presentation has been automated and is now available. Details may be obtained from the first author.

## Approaches to Information Seeking

There is more information available in adult education than most of us realize. Let us recommend some actions you can take to uncover resources in your own school system, community, or state, for many of your information needs can be met only from these local sources.

1. Deliberately analyze the work you are doing to determine precisely what information you need to do it well. This is likely to be a sobering exercise, for most of us must often take action on the basis of very imperfect information. It is also likely to turn your mind to ways of finding information which common sense

suggests is available somewhere or *could* be, if reasonable action were taken. None of us should complacently accept working on guess and speculation when something can be done about it.

2. Locate information resources in your own school system and in your community or region. Your colleagues, your supervisor, even your predecessor, are good sources of advice and help on practical problems. Clergymen, vocational educators, social workers, and others in your community may have long experience and great rapport with the groups you meet in your basic education classes. Materials may be found in your staff library or materials center of your own agency, or in the Title III resource center serving your area, or from your state department of education. If you find no help available in these sources, may it be because you have not actively made your needs known?
3. Be alert to training opportunities and chances to meet with your colleagues at meetings sponsored by local or state educational and adult education groups or at national meetings of NAPSAE or the AEA Commission on Basic Education. Are you eligible to attend one of the USOE funded summer Training Institutes, sponsored by colleges and universities in each region of the country? Do you know the basic education curriculum specialists and resource persons available in these colleges and universities?
4. Scan regularly some of the newsletters and periodicals which bring practical information on ABE to you. Some of these are listed in this guide.

## National Information Systems

As the nation's attention has turned to improving the educational system and to recognition of adult education as the "curative solution" to many social problems, research reports, descriptions of methods and of exemplary programs, and other publications have multiplied. New information services are developing to ensure that the experience and tested knowledge in these publications actually get through to the teachers and administrators who do the real educational work. Here are brief introductions to three of these new services which we think can be most useful to adult basic educators.

ERIC The ERIC (Educational Resources Information Center) system, established by the United States Office of Education in cooperation with 18 universities and professional associations, is intended to acquire, abstract, and index significant educational literature, to encourage the production of basic literature guides and state of the art reports, and to facilitate the development of other information services in many parts of American education.

The ERIC Clearinghouse on Adult Education (ERIC/AE), operated by Syracuse University, provides these services in the field of adult education. One service which we cannot provide at ERIC/AE, however, is search and reference service tailored to individual needs. That is why we have made many special arrangements with the NEA Adult Education Clearinghouse so that its staff can make maximum use of ERIC resources in providing such service to you.

NAEC The NEA Adult Education Clearinghouse is specifically intended to provide services to teachers and administrators in adult basic and secondary education. Working in cooperation with ERIC/AE, NAEC has special access to ERIC materials and supplements these by collecting many other types of information (case histories, audiovisual aids, and names of resources specialists) which are directly useful in ABE programs. NAEC provides a newsletter, operates an exchange of free or inexpensive publications, and is particularly well equipped to answer information requests from the field.

SRIS A third new national information service is the School Research Information Service (SRIS), an agency of Phi Delta Kappa, International, Eighth and Union Streets, Bloomington, Indiana 47401. SRIS is devoted to the dissemination of reports of research and innovative practices developed by professional educators, as well as school systems, institutions of higher education, school study councils, and individual practitioners. Phi Delta Kappa now publishes the SRIS Quarterly. SRIS, too, works in cooperation with the ERIC system, providing appropriate documents to the ERIC Clearinghouses and supplementing ERIC coverage by its emphasis on reports of innovative practice in the school systems. SRIS is prepared to make subject searches of its files in response to requests and to provide microfiche and hard copy reproductions of its documents.

## Some Other Information Sources

Adult Education Association of the U.S.A., 1225 19th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036

AEA publishes *Adult Leadership, Adult Education* and many special guides useful in all parts of adult education. It conducts special projects, holds state and national meetings, and includes many special interest sections.

American Association for University Women, Research Information Service, 2401 Virginia Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20007

Abstracts and classifies relevant writing in women's education, published since 1950. Publishes *Women's Education.*

Social Security Administration, 414 11th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C.

Makes available a number of excellent films and other materials suitable for adult education classes.

Science Information Exchange, Smithsonian Institute, Madison National Bank Building, Suite 300, 1730 M Street N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036

Operates a computer-aided research in progress information system.

Laubach Literacy, 1011 Harrison Street, Syracuse, New York

Operates extensive literacy programs, publishes a newsletter and a large array of literacy instructional materials in the United States and abroad.

DATRIX, University Microfilms, 206 North Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, Michigan 48106

For a small fee, provides computer search of a file of 126,000 dissertations for subjects of interest to the inquirer. University Microfilms also publishes *Dissertation Abstracts,* files of which are available in most large libraries.

USOE, Division of Adult Education Programs, Washington, D.C.

This division funds state ABE and community education programs, teacher training institutes, and research and development projects related to these needs.

Office of Economic Opportunity, Washington, D.C. 20506

Funds a wide range of programs for rehabilitation of poor people, most of them containing important elements of adult education. Publishes a weekly new summary. Many useful materials have been produced, for example, programed instructional materials in the Job Corps.

Books for the People Fund, Pan American Union, Constitution Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C.

Excellent source of instructional materials in Spanish.

## Useful Periodicals and Newsletters

*Education Index,* available in libraries.

Indexes a wide range of educational periodicals including *Adult Leadership* and *Adult Education.*

*Research in Education,* Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402. $11.00 per year.

This is the ERIC monthly guide to current literature in education. Adult education literature is thoroughly covered including adult basic education. Abstracts for all documents, many of which can be obtained inexpensively from the ERIC Document Reproduction Service. Includes a wealth of practical literature for the teacher and administrator as well as research reports.

*Adult Leadership,* 1225 19th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036. $7.50.

Relatively brief, topical articles on wide range of adult education topics. Included in AEA membership.

*Adult Education,* 1225 19th Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036. $7.50.

Quarterly journal of research and theory. Included in Type II AEA membership.

*Techniques for Teachers of Adults.* Published by NAPSAE, 1201 Sixteenth Street, N.W., Washington, D.C., 20036. $3.00 per year.

A four-page monthly newsletter issued eight times a year. Nontechnical, inservice tool for teachers and administrators.

*Holt Adult Education Newsletter.* Published at irregular intervals by Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 383 Madison Avenue, New York, New York 10017. Free.

Devoted to significant developments, new publications, and pertinent legislation in adult education.

*Newsletter,* Laubach Literacy, P.O. Box 131, Syracuse, New York 13210. Free.

*Swap Shop for Administrators.* Published by the NAPSAE, 1201 Sixteenth Street, N.W., Washington, D.C., 20036. $3.00 per year.

A four-page newsletter issued six times a year, devoted to recent developments in specific areas.

UNESCO *Chronicle,* UNESCO House, Place de Fontenoy, Paris 7e, France. $3.00.

Contains frequent brief articles on UNESCO literacy and fundamental education programs, notices of reports on these topics, and notes on international meetings.

*Abstracts of Research and Related Materials on Vocational and Technical Education* (ARM), and *Abstracts of Instructional Materials on Vocational and Technical Education* (AIM). Quarterly publications of the ERIC Clearinghouse on Vocational and Technical Education, Ohio State University, 980 Kinnear Road, Columbus, Ohio 43212. Subscription to each publication is $9.00 per year, or $2.50 for a single copy.

*Technical Assistance Bulletin.* Educational Systems Corporation, 1717 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036. Monthly. Free.

Exchange of information and ideas on consumer education and other interests in migrant farm worker programs.

## Some Publications Useful in Adult Basic Education

Listed are reports which you may find useful. Many of these can be obtained from the agencies or publishers which produced them or from your library. Those with ED numbers may be ordered from the ERIC Document Reproduction Service (EDRS), National Cash Register Company, 4936 Fairmont Avenue, Bethesda, Maryland 20014.

EDRS price MF-$0.50 HC-$3.52 indicates that the relevant document may be obtained from EDRS in microfiche (MF) for 50 cents, or for $3.52 in printed out hard copy (HC).

A microfiche is a sheet of 4″x 6″ film containing microimages of the pages of the document—as many as sixty pages of document per fiche—and costs just 25 cents from EDRS. In order to read microfiche one must have access to a microfiche reader. Hard copy prints consist of black and white 6″x 8″ pages, bound in soft covers, and available at 4 cents per page.

ADULT BASIC EDUCATION, Current Information Sources. ERIC Clearinghouse on Adult Education, Syracuse, New York. November 1967. 21 pages. EDRS order number: ED 014 024. Microfiche, $0.25; hard copy, $0.92.

ADULT BASIC EDUCATION, Current Information Sources, Number 18. ERIC Clearinghouse on Adult Education, Syracuse, New York. May 1968. 44 pages. EDRS order number: ED 018 745. Microfiche, $0.25; hard copy, $1.84.

Annotated bibliography on adult basic education. Included are program descriptions; materials, guides, and tests; research reviews and general studies; teacher training. Documents are dated from 1965-1968.

THE ADMINISTRATION OF ADULT BAISC EDUCATION, A MANUAL OF TRAINING MATERIALS. National Association for Public School Adult Education, Washington, D.C. June 1967. 43 pages. EDRS order number: ED 012 421. Microfiche, $0.25; hard copy, $1.80.

Training materials developed for the 1967 summer institute for administrators of adult basic education programs.

EVALUATION OF THE EOA BASIC EDUCATION PROGRAM, 1965-1966. Oakland Public Schools, California. 1966. 47 pages. EDRS order number: ED 012 856. Microfiche, $0.25; hard copy, $1.96.

An evaluation of classes in basic education and English for foreign-speaking persons funded by the Economic Opportunity Act.

MATERIALS FOR ADULT BASIC EDUCATION—AN ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY. Summers, Edward G., Indiana University, Bloomington. 1967. 27 pages. EDRS order number: ED 011 489. Microfiche, $0.25; hard copy, $1.08.

References to materials useful to teachers and administrators in developing specialized programs for ABE and literacy.

MATERIALS FOR THE ADULT BASIC EDUCATION ADMINISTRATOR AND TEACHER, BIBLIOGRAPHY. National University Extension Association, Washington, D.C. June 1967. 54 pages. EDRS order number: ED 012 425. Microfiche, $0.25; hard copy, $2.24.

Psychological studies. Bibliography on programed learning and educational technology of materials suitable for use by administrators and teachers of adult basic programs.

A REVISED ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY OF INSTRUCTIONAL LITERACY MATERIAL FOR ADULT BASIC EDUCATION. Smith, Edwin H., and others. Florida State Department of Education. June 1966. 51 pages. EDRS order number: ED 010 858. Microfiche, $0.25; hard copy, $2.12.

Annotated bibliography of literacy and basic education materials divided into introductory, elementary, and intermediate levels.

PERSONAL AND FAMILY DEVELOPMENT IN ADULT BASIC EDUCATION, CURRICULUM GUIDES AND RESOURCE UNITS (preliminary draft). National University Extension Association, Washington, D.C. June 1967. 154 pages. EDRS order number: ED 014 013. Microfiche, $0.75; hard copy, $6.24.

Curriculum guide for adult basic education teachers, counselors, administrators, and teacher-trainers, with annotated lists of materials and resource persons.

ADULT BASIC EDUCATION, A GUIDE FOR TEACHERS (1967 revision). Wheeler, Hubert. Missouri State Board of Education. Publication 134-G. 1967. 149 pages. EDRS order number: ED 013 403. Microfiche, $0.75; hard copy, $6.04.

An information guide for teachers of ABE, listing teaching objectives, methods, and materials.

MATERIALS FOR THE ADULT BASIC EDUCATION STUDENT, A BIBLIOGRAPHY. National University Extension Association, Washington, D.C. May 1967. 137 pages. EDRS order number: ED 012 426. Microfiche, $0.75; hard copy, $5.56.

An annotated bibliography of materials designed to assist adults in applying their reading, writing, and computational skills to adult life; for use in adult basic education classes at the elementary school level.

BASIC EDUCATION TEACHERS, SEVEN NEEDED QUALITIES. Stanislaus County Multi-Occupational Adult Training Project, Teacher Characteristics, Report 4.1. Pearce, Frank C., Modesto Junior College, Modesto, California. September 1966. 16 pages. EDRS order number: ED 010 677. Microfiche, $0.25; hard copy, $0.72.

A report on a study of teacher characteristics based on opinions of trainees, teachers, and administrators in basic education.

ADULT BASIC EDUCATION NATIONAL TEACHER-TRAINER INSTITUTE, July 10-28, 1967. Fitzgerald, Hunter. University of California, Los Angeles. 1967. 63 pages. EDRS order number: ED 012 878. Microfiche, $0.75; hard copy, $2.60. Report of the 1967 Western Region Teacher Training Institute to provide training for administrators and teachers of ABE programs.

A STUDY OF STUDENTS WHO DISCONTINUED ATTENDANCE IN THE ESEA III ADULT BASIC EDUCATION PROGRAM. Moss, Doris and Richardson, Robert, New York City Board of Education, Brooklyn, New York. June 1967, 38 pages.

Data were gathered by interview or school files on 306 persons who discontinued attendance in the adult basic education courses provided by public schools in the Bronx, Manhattan, Brooklyn, and Queens.

A STUDY OF NIGHT SCHOOL DROPOUTS, A SCHEDULE 10 PROJECT. Alan, Mubarka, and Wright, E.N. Toronto Board of Education. Ontario Research Department, March 1968. 111 pages. EDRS order number ED 018 769. Microfiche, $0.50; hard copy, $4.52.

A study of night school stayins and dropouts used a randomly selected sample of 240 stayins and 243 dropouts from the Metropolitan Toronto Board of Education evening classes.

A PROPOSED PROGRAM FOR A CURRICULUM DEVELOPMENT LABORATORY FOR UNEMPLOYED OUT-OF-SCHOOL YOUTH, 16 TO 21 YEARS OF AGE. New York. State Education Department. 1966. 112 pages. EDRS order number: ED 012 854. Microfiche, $0.50; hard copy, $4.48.

This program for out-of-school youth would relate work and study and provide on-the-job training with the ultimate goals of placing participants in suitable vocations and assisting their return to formal education leading to a high school diploma.

ADULT BASIC EDUCATION. Knox, Alan B. Teachers College, Columbia University. November 1967. 60 pages. EDRS order number: ED 015 392. Microfiche, $0.50; hard copy, $2.40.

This report contains abstracts of research reports and evaluation studies related to adult basic education conducted in the United States and Canada. The majority of the reports were dated 1965, 1966, or 1967, many being related to federal funds either directly or indirectly.

A REVISED ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY OF INSTRUCTION LITERACY MATERIAL FOR ADULT BASIC EDUCATION. Smith, Edwin H. and others. Florida State Department of Education, Adult Education Section. June 1966. 53 pages. EDRS order number: ED 010 858. Microfiche $0.25; hard copy, $2.12.

In this annotated bibliography, instructional materials considered appropriate for beginning readers, disadvantaged youth, adults only, adolescents only, for foreign-born students, are designated.

STANDARD TERMINOLOGY FOR INSTRUCTION IN LOCAL AND STATE LEVEL SCHOOL SYSTEMS, AN ANALYSIS OF INSTRUCTIONAL CONTENT, RESOURCES AND PROCESSES. Putnam, John F. and Chismore, Dale W. Office of Education, Washington, D.C. May 1967. 697 pages. EDRS order number: ED 012 822. Microfiche, $2.75; hard copy, $27.96.

This handbook, a guide in keeping records and making reports about curriculum and instruction, classifies and defines specific items of information about administration, content, resources, process of instruction, and related terminology.

CONTINUING EDUCATION FILM SURVEY, A NATIONAL SURVEY OF 16MM FILMS

PREPARED FOR THE 1968 NYAPSAE ANNUAL CONFERENCE. Campbell, Boyd P. and Williams, Harold A. New York Public School Adult Education. 1968. 23 pages.

A selective, annotated list of 162 16mm films developed or found useful in recent years for administration, public relations, and interpretation of adult education, for inservice training of teachers of adults, and as adult education curriculum aids.

PUBLIC SCHOOL ADULT EDUCATION. Current Information Sources, Number 9. ERIC Clearinghouse on Adult Education, Syracuse, N.Y., National Association for Public School Adult Education, Washington, D.C. January 1968. 16 pages. EDRS order number: ED 016 154. Microfiche, $0.25; hard copy $0.72.

PUBLIC SCHOOL ADULT EDUCATION. Current Information Sources, Number 19. ERIC Clearinghouse on Adult Education. National Association for Public School Adult Education. August 1968. 21 pages.

Annotated bibliographies of documents concerned with training and retraining of adults and out-of-school youth in the area of adult basic and secondary education. Documents mostly dated 1965-1968.

ADULT BASIC EDUCATION, A GUIDE FOR TEACHERS (1967 revision). Wheeler, Hubert. Missouri State Board of Education. Publication-134-G. 1967. 151 pages. EDRS order number: ED 013 403. Microfiche, $0.75; hard copy, $6.04.

Detailed teaching objectives, methods, and materials compiled for teachers of adult basic education. List of achievement, diagnostic reading readiness, aptitude, and interest tests are included.

PERSONALITY FACTORS WHICH MAY INTERFERE WITH THE LEARNING OF ADULT BASIC EDUCATION STUDENTS. Hand, S. E. and Puder, William H. Florida State University at Tallahassee. 29 pages. EDRS order number: ED 016 161. Microfiche, $0.25; hard copy, $1.24.

The literature in several areas of psychological research was surveyed to better understand the learning characteristics of culturally disadvantaged adults.

## Some Eric Products Available from the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402

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| RESEARCH IN EDUCATION, ANNUAL INDEX 1967, REPORT RESUME INDEX. | $3.25 |
| RESEARCH IN EDUCATION, ANNUAL INDEX 1967, PROJECT RESUME INDEX. | $1.50 |

Cumulative indexes for the research reports and projects announced in the monthly issues of R.I.E. from November 1966 to December 1967, intended primarily as companion volumes to the individual issues of *Research in Education.* These indexes provide only bibliographic citation and order numbers. 200 word resumes for each document, can be located under the order number in the monthly issues of *Research in Education.* Volumes contain indexes by subject, investigator, and institution.

PACESETTERS IN INNOVATION, FISCAL YEAR 1966 (OE-20103) $2.50.

PACESETTERS IN INNOVATION, FISCAL YEAR 1967 (OE-20103-67) $2.50

Resumes of projects to advance creativity in education, Title III, supplementary. These volumes contain resumes and indexes of Projects to Advance Creativity in Education (PACE) funded under Title III, Supplementary Centers and Services, of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965.

ERIC CATALOG OF SELECTED DOCUMENTS ON THE DISADVANTAGED, NUMBER & AUTHOR INDEX (OE-37001) $.65

ERIC CATALOG OF SELECTED DOCUMENTS ON THE DISADVANTAGED, SUBJECT INDEX (OE-37002) $3.00

Collection of 1,740 documents dealing with the special education needs of the disadvantaged. The number and author index contains a sequential listing of each document by document number and an alphabetical listing of personal authors. The companion volume contains a word list compiled from the index terms used to index the 1,740 documents.

A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF PROBLEMS IN TEACHING ADULTS AS REPORTED BY TEACHERS OF ADULTS AND DIRECTORS OF ADULT EDUCATION IN PUBLIC SCHOOL REIMBURSED HOME ECONOMICS PROGRAMS IN NEW YORK STATE DURING THE PERIOD 1960-1962, Ferrante, Louise Ann. 1962. 154 pages (M.S. thesis). Document is available from Cornell University, Ithaca, New York.

An investigation was made of problems and personal needs in New York State reimbursed programs of public school adult education in home economics as seen by teachers and by adult education directors, of program and teacher characteristics, and of differences in assessments by teachers under differing types of certification. Questionnaire responses were obtained from 315 teachers and 216 directors.

FACTORS RELATED TO THE EFFECTIVENESS OF TEACHERS OF SHORT-TERM ADULT VOCATIONAL COURSES. Jones, Charles I. Florida State University at

Tallahassee, 1967. 179 pages. Available from University Microfilms, Ann Arbor, Michigan 48106. Order number: 67-11161. Microfilm, $3.00.

The correlation between selected characteristics of teachers of short-term vocational courses and changes in the behavior of the participants was studied. Three courses in which both verbal and manual skills were taught provided information on 44 teachers and 519 adult students. Student verbal gain, manual gain, satisfaction, and persistence were measured and correlations obtained with teachers' demographic characteristics and teaching styles for each course separately and for all courses combined.

STYLE OF ADULT LEADERSHIP AND PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS DESIRED IN AN ADULT TEACHER BY LOW SOCIOECONOMIC RURAL YOUTH. Apps, Jerold W. University of Wisconsin at Madison, 1967. 221 pages. Available from University Microfilms, Ann Arbor, Michigan 48106. Order number: 67-4933. Microfilm, $3.00.

The purpose of this study was to determine factors related to the recruitment and training of volunteer adult leadership for work with lower socioeconomic rural youth in university extension youth programs.

VOLUNTEERS FOR LEARNING, A STUDY OF THE EDUCATION PURSUITS OF AMERICAN ADULTS, Johnstone, John W. and Rivera, Ramon J. Available from Aldine Publishing Company, Chicago, Illinois. 1965. $12.50.

The needs, motives, and satisfactions which impel adults to continue their education are investigated in this national sample survey, which examines the extent and nature of adult participation in continuing education in the United States.

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The effects of a short-term training course in changing the attitudes of teachers toward illiterate adults was evaluated by administering an attitude survey at three different times.